Columbus Memorial Volume

PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.

From the Versailles gallery. Engraved on steel by Paolo Mercuri, from the ancient portrait supposed to have been painted by Jan Van Eyck, of Bruges, while Columbus was at the court of Portugal.

The original of the portrait is in the "Voyages" of De Bry, which he says was painted by direction of the King and Queen of Castile, and stolen from the Council of the Indies. De Bry, in the preface to his "Voyages," Frankfort, 1595, says: "Of this portrait I have had the good fortune to obtain a copy, since finishing the fourth book of this work, through a friend who had received it from the artist himself; and it has been my desire, kind reader, to share this pleasure with you, for which purpose I have caused it to be engraved in a reduced form on copper by my son with as much care as possible, and now offer it for your inspection in this book. And, in truth, the portrait of one possessing such excellence deserves to be seen by all good men, for he was upright and courteous, pure and noble-minded, and an earnest friend of peace and justice."

Columbus Memorial Volume

PUBLISHED BY THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF

The Catholic Club of New York

AND

The United States Catholic Historical Society

NEW YORK, CINCINNATI, CHICAGO

BENZIGER BROTHERS

PRINTERS TO THE HOLY APOSTOLIC SEE

1893

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION

BY

PROF. CHARLES GEORGE HERBERMANN, PH.D., LL.D.

LONG before Pericles pronounced his immortal oration, nations had publicly honored their heroes. The temples and obelisks of Egypt herald the glories of the Pharaohs, the palaces of Nineve the exploits of its mighty conquerors. Since the days of the Athenian statesman, also, peoples, ancient and modern, have had and celebrated their great men. But resplendent as is the fame of Alexander and Cæsar, of Napoleon and Wellington, they fought and wrought for their own country, and they were honored chiefly by their own countrymen. The four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America revealed to the world a spectacle new in history or annals. With one accord the nations of two continents united in doing homage to the great Genoese discoverer, and in exalting his deathless achievement. All seemed to feel that Columbus and his fame belong, not to one nation, but to mankind. Italy rejoiced because she gave him birth; Portugal because she offered him hospitality; Spain because she furnished him a fleet. All Europe felt that she owed him thanks, because his genius and energy opened to the Old World the treasures and resources of the New. We of the New World feel that had there been no Columbus there might have been no Washington. Rightfully, therefore, the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America has become an international jubilee, a festival in which the men of two worlds, without distinction of race or country, joined warmly and sincerely in honoring the name of Columbus.

But the quadricentennial of the discovery of America was no expression of mere sentiment. It was an ac-

knowledgment of the transcendent importance of Columbus' work, a recognition of the greatness of the man and of his representative character in history. Columbus stands on the borderland of the Middle Ages and modern times. His birth, probably, falls a few years before the Turks took Constantinople and Guttenberg invented the art of printing from movable types ; his death, a few years before the unfortunate schism precipitated by the Monk of Wittenberg shattered the unity of the Christian world. Placed, therefore, on the confines of these two periods, like the evening star he reflected the radiance of the waning, like the morning star he heralded the coming glories of the dawning day. As the offspring of the one he embodied what was great in the ages of faith ; as the precursor of the other he contributed not a little to stimulate and shape the course of much that is best in modern progress.

Columbus was the offspring and the representative of mediævalism. The spirit which inspired him to face and surmount the thousand dangers and difficulties that imperilled the success of his enterprise, was the spirit of chivalry, the spirit of the knight errant. Proud, like the mediæval lord, he spurned every reward except that which he felt to be worthy of his merits. Unswervingly brave like the knight, he bowed neither to the opposition of courts nor to the mutiny of his followers, but confident in right and truth, conquered success. The science which guided him on his long and weary way was the science of the Middle Ages, the science fostered by the Church and nursed by monasteries and monks. The heir of Nicholas of Cusa and John Müller of Königsberg (Regiomontanus), of Behaim and Toscanelli, he used the mediæval science of astronomy and cosmography as the hand-maidens of the art of navigation. From them he learned the rotundity of the earth, from them and the mediæval seamen who preceded him he borrowed the mariner's compass, the cross-staff and the astrolabe. His exploring instinct, also, the Genoese mariner inherited from the men of the Middle Ages. Long before his days, in the thirteenth century, the Franciscans Piano di Carpine and William Rubruquis had reached Tartary and India, and

Marco Polo had penetrated to China. The zeal and energy of Prince Henry, the navigator, had borne fruit in the Portuguese discoveries along the western coast of Africa, and in 1487 Bartholomew Dias had discovered the Cape of Good Hope. The conception of reaching India and Japan by sea was appropriated by Columbus from the Portuguese sailors trained in the ideas of Prince Henry and King John II. The religious zeal which animated Columbus was the spirit of Christendom in the days of its unity. Filled with devotion to the Church, he never forgot that it was his first duty to spread the Kingdom of Christ. Like those types of mediæval heroism, Godfrey of Bouillon and Tancred, he was filled with undying enthusiasm to free the Lord's sepulchre from the power of the Moslems. The loyal son of the one undivided Church, he sailed from Palos blessed by her priests, and his first care when, after months of bitter struggles, he set foot on the soil of the New World, was to plant Christ's cross and consecrate the newly found land to His service. Who will deny that the famous Genoese was a true son of the ages of faith and of chivalry? Who fail to recognize in him the embodiment of all that was best in the Middle Ages?

But regard the figure of Columbus from another point of view, and we are struck at once by his many modern traits, and impressed with the close connection between his career and the course of modern science. Convinced of the correctness of his cosmographic views, neither the coldness of patrons nor the opposition of the world shook him in his convictions. Time itself did not dampen his ardor to test by experiment his scientific opinions. Is not this the spirit of the modern investigator? Four times Columbus braved the perils of the sea, and trusted himself to men more treacherous than the ocean, to prove the correctness of his theories. Can modern science produce more brilliant examples of courage and perseverance? In his methods Columbus, while true to the mediæval principle of authority, appealed to observation and fact as arguments of decisive importance. If, to support his theories that the extent of ocean between the west of Africa and the Indies was slight as compared with the

vastness of the old continent, he cited Aristotle and Averroës, Esdras and Seneca, and if he founded his scheme largely on the authority of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, it is also true that, both at Porto Santo and at Lisbon, from his sailor relatives, and the most experienced mariners of the day, he gathered facts, indicating the existence of fertile inhabited lands to the westward. Again and again he dwelt on the fact that carved wood, strange trees, unknown species of reeds, nay, the corpses of two men unlike any race of the Old World, had drifted from the west to the Azores. How could he have anticipated more signally the methods of the modern explorer? How modern, too, was Columbus' manner of dealing with a phenomenon that might well have struck earlier mariners as an ill-boding prodigy—the continuous variation of the magnetic needle on his first voyage. The Genoese sailor sought an explanation in science and made it the starting point of improved navigation.

To these traits which Columbus has in common with modern men of science, add the restless zeal, the enthusiasm which impelled him from one enterprise to another. Voyage followed voyage; neither storms nor shipwreck, neither the rebellion of his men, nor the persecution of superiors, nor the base ingratitude that made the man who had given a world to the Spanish Sovereigns a chained prisoner, lessened his fiery ardor. Age itself did not cool it. Though fast approaching the allotted three score and ten, though unjustly stripped of his hard-earned rewards and honors, he could not settle down to a life of inactivity and allow others to complete the discovery he had made. A fourth time he defied the terrors of the ocean, and the treachery of the base adventurers, into whose hands destiny had thrown him. Why? To extend his explorations and make new discoveries. What wonder if such enthusiasm should prove infectious? if the spirit of Columbus should not only incite the men of his own time, but, so to say, appear again and again in the explorers of later centuries? Review the gallant company that followed in his wake. Pinzon, Vespucci and Solis derived from the Admiral himself the inspiration which sent them across the Atlantic to seek the western passage to India. Is

it too bold to assume that the success of Columbus was the goad that, in 1497, spurred on Vasco da Gama to find the way to India? Some twenty years later the spirit of Columbus descended on Ferdinand Magellan, that prince of navigators, and guided him to success and fame as the first circumnavigator of the world. Sebastian Cabot and Hendrick Hudson we shall mention as the next links in this brilliant chain of the great Admiral's successors. They, too, were stimulated to undertake their voyages by Columbus' idea of finding a westward passage to India; only while Columbus and those who immediately followed him directed their course southward, the Cabots and Hudson sought by a northwest passage to reach that land of gold and of spices. Hudson's name suggests Frobisher's and Baffin's and Davis', and a long series of staunch-hearted seamen, until we come to the great Arctic explorers of the nineteenth century, the Sir John Franklins, the Markhams, the Kanes, and the Pearys. But why go into further detail? A similar coupling of names, a similar tracing of the thoughts that inspired them, would show that the seed sown by the Genoese discoverer has borne fruit not only in America and India, but likewise in Australia and Africa. Wavelike one exploration and discovery follows another, and perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that to the impulse given by Columbus' achievement the wave of discovery that has swept over Central Africa owed its being. In this way we realize how closely connected with the geographical ideas and discoveries of modern times, nay, of our own days, is the great deed of the Genoese discoverer.

From another point of view, also, Columbus has been the herald of modern grandeur. We read in history of the commercial greatness of Carthage, of Athens, of Venice, of the Hanse towns. Still what are the commercial enterprises of Carthage and Athens and Venice when compared to the gigantic commercial undertakings of the nineteenth century? Our merchants and capitalists pierce mountains, cut continents in twain, and almost girdle the earth with railroads. Only a few years have passed since the Comte de Lesseps filled the world with his fame. Why? Because he had es-

tablished a new, a shorter and easier route to the far East; he had revolutionized the course of trade with China and India. The conception of uniting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea was not de Lesseps' conception. A Pharaoh in hoary antiquity had conceived the plan, if he did not realize it. De Lesseps' merit consisted in successfully digging the Suez Canal. But to Columbus the world of commerce owes one of the most pregnant schemes the human mind has ever conceived. He proposed boldly to break with tradition; to seek a new route to the East, to reduce by thousands of miles the distance between Spain and Cipango, and thus to secure for the Spaniards the commerce of the East. The imperfect geography of his time deceived him as to the distance; for this error he was not responsible. But his idea from a commercial point of view was not only original, but grand. It was essentially in harmony with the spirit of our own day. Think of it! By a single stroke he thought to place in the hands of Spain the priceless traffic of the East. And the means? To turn the prows of his ships towards the West instead of towards the East. This original, this brilliant conception was worthy of a great reward, and Columbus deserved to be the discoverer of a new world he did not seek.

Such, too, was the feeling of America and Europe when the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America came. With one accord the men of many lands commemorated the event, and honored the discoverer. Historians, antiquarians rummaged amid the dust of libraries to find new light on the fateful undertaking; historians told again the thrilling story of the finding of a new world; mechanics reproduced to a nicety the world-famed caravels that carried the daring mariners to fame and success; artists immortalized on canvas or in marble the discoverer and his achievement. Statues were set up, triumphal arches built, and monuments erected. Cities and states vieing with one another organized illuminations, pageants, processions. The poet was inspired by his muse to sing the noble theme, the orator rolled forth noble periods to add to the splendors of the universal jubilee. Lastly, the Church, proud of the faithful

son who had disclosed a new world to thousands of her suffering children, threw open the portals of her minsters, made her organs peal forth anthems in his honor and bade the most eloquent of her ministers announce the true significance of the hero and of his mission. So it came about that the fourth centennial of the discovery of America became a universal holiday, such as the world has never before beheld.

To describe the details of the festival as it was celebrated in the Old World and the New would require volumes. We can only cast a hasty glance at it. In Europe, Spain and Italy, as was proper, were foremost in doing homage to the great Admiral. Genoa, whose statue of Columbus is perhaps the finest monument erected in his honor, did not forget on this occasion to show how proud she is of her illustrious son. On October 12th cannons, military music, the ringing of bells and impressive religious solemnities inaugurated the jubilee in Madrid. Through streets richly decorated with triumphal arches and gay with colors, the historical procession of the Spanish students wended its way, amid the enthusiasm of crowds gathered from near and far. Palos had already had its day of jubilee on the 3d of August. Now Huelva, too, showed how she glories in the association of her name with the greatest event of post-Christian times. Most justly, too, Queen Christina recognized the services of Fray Antonio de Marchena, who so nobly befriended Columbus, by restoring to his brethren the Convent of Sta. Maria de la Rabida. In London, Americans, Spaniards, Germans and Frenchmen assembled at the same board with the most distinguished Englishmen to sing the praises of Columbus and his deeds. Similar celebrations, too numerous to refer to, were the order of the day on the Continent of Europe.

But all the splendors of the European pageant pale into insignificance alongside of the brilliant celebration the great Republic of the New World organized to commemorate the achievement of Columbus. While Congress had decided that the national festival in honor of the event should take the form of an International Columbian Fair, many of the great

cities of the land resolved to pay their tribute to the Genoese mariner by local celebrations. Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, and many other places did themselves honor in honoring Columbus. But, as often on such occasions, the Metropolis carried off the palm. For three days New York ceased to be the great commercial bee-hive of the Western Continent, and invited her children and her neighbors to a universal merrymaking. Hearty was the response to this invitation. The main thoroughfares of the city were gay with flags and draperies. Everywhere was seen the portrait of Columbus, festooned with the colors of Spain, Genoa and the United States. Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile vied with one another to do homage to this son of the undivided Catholic Church. The transcendent importance of the man's service to mankind, and generous recognition of his great qualities, overshadowed the national and religious prejudice that so often blind men to the merits of their fellows. Saturday, Oct. 9th, and Sunday, the 10th, formed, so to say, the prelude of the fête, in the synagogues and the churches. Rabbi and preacher found an inspiring theme in the man and his deed. On Monday, Oct. 11th, began the celebration proper. As seems right, the first day was allotted to the youth of the city. With banners and decorations, the children of the schools, the college youth, as well as the students of the universities, marched in thousands, the hope and pride of the Metropolis. Among these none were more justly and warmly applauded than the children of the Catholic schools. Before the school parade had come to a close, the majestic Hudson became the scene of a great naval display. A formidable fleet of men-of-war, including besides the American squadron visitors from France, Spain and Italy, escorted by hundreds of merchant vessels of varying size and character, all bedecked with a bewildering mass of colors, filled the stream. While salvo followed salvo from the war vessels, the merchant fleet sent forth a wild chorus upon their steam whistles. Nor did the splendors of the celebration cease at nightfall. Fireworks whose brilliancy turned the night into day drew hundreds of thousands to the waterside. Meanwhile other legions filled the great

thoroughfares, eager to see the torchlight parade of the Catholic societies, one of the most notable features of the celebration. Eloquence, too, and poetry and music wove new wreaths for the great Admiral. At Carnegie Hall some of the foremost Catholic orators spoke his praise, while odes set to music by a distinguished composer voiced the warm admiration of the sons of the Catholic Parnassus. In two other halls monster choruses and world-famed artists rendered cantatas composed especially to honor the anniversary of Columbus. Tuesday (the 12th) saw the culmination of New York's jubilee. Hundreds of thousands poured into the Metropolis from abroad. Up and down the streets surged ever increasing throngs, and the avenue that was to behold the great military parade appeared a sea of humanity. So great was the inpouring of visitors that thousands of citizens were unable to see the pageant. The parade was a truly American spectacle. Thousands of citizen soldiers, marching alongside of the small but well-drilled band of regulars, proclaimed that in the land of Columbus and Washington neither internal nor external enemies have enslaved the nation. In the procession were seen not only the militia of the Empire State, but many regiments from Connecticut, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, commanded by the Governors of those states. These were followed by the veterans of the civil war; at their head rode nearly two score Generals, famed for their skill and valor on many a well-fought field. The New York Fire Department and numerous civil societies, representing not only America, but many a European nation, closed the procession. For hours they marched past the Vice-President of the Republic and the Governor of the State, who reviewed the parade. A grand banquet and a night pageant of tableaux representing on huge triumphal cars, brilliant with electric lights, historical scenes connected with the history of this New World, closed the celebration.

If the celebration of Columbus' discovery enlisted so strongly the sympathies of all Americans, it appealed with special force to the Catholics of the United States. Columbus, as we have seen, was the true offspring of the ages of faith,

of the undivided Church Catholic. Accordingly it was but fit that the children of the Church should honor him as their own representative. Throughout the country, therefore, churchmen and laymen vied with one another to do homage not only to Columbus the discoverer, but to Columbus the Catholic discoverer. To the United States Catholic Historical Society belongs the credit of starting this movement. On December 15th, at a meeting of its council, the first step was taken. On motion of Mr. P. Farrelly, the eloquent Daniel Dougherty was invited to deliver a eulogy of the great Admiral in New York. But soon the plan of the celebration was enlarged. A committee was appointed to wait upon His Grace, Archbishop Corrigan, for the purpose of expressing to him the desire of the Historical Society to forward by every means in its power the Columbian Celebration of 1892. The Archbishop not only received the committee most graciously, but forthwith translated his encouraging words into vigorous action. He communicated with several prelates and distinguished laymen, and especially with His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, appealing to them in behalf of a grand Catholic celebration of the fourth centenary of the discovery of the New World. Cardinal Gibbons took up the suggestion with ardor. He addressed to the bishops of the country a circular letter, which, on account of its importance, is given in full:

RIGHT REVEREND DEAR SIR:

My attention has been called to the suggestion that it would be eminently fitting to celebrate with solemn religious observances the twelfth of October next, commemorative of the discovery of America.

The Most Reverend Archbishop of New York, and other prelates with distinguished laymen, have made the request that the Archbishops and Bishops be addressed with a view to the taking of some concerted action in the matter, so that on the day mentioned in all the dioceses especial religious services be held. It has also been thought, that these might be supplemented, wherever practicable, by some civil celebration in the evening.

With all deference, I take the liberty of submitting the subject to Your Grace's consideration. A united action on the part of the hierarchy would enhance the glory of the celebration and invest the day with especial solemnity. I need not say that I myself am in favor of the proposed celebration.

With profound respect, I remain,
Your humble servant in Christ,
JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS,
Archbishop of Baltimore.

The result of this appeal to the prelates of the United States was the universal and enthusiastic celebration of the Columbus anniversary throughout the length and breadth of the land. From Boston to New Orleans, from Baltimore to San Francisco, the cathedrals and churches of the great cities shone in their brightest adornments, and all the resources of the grand Catholic ritual were exhausted to lend splendor to the memorable jubilee. In almost every cathedral and in many churches was celebrated solemn High Mass, rendered more solemn by choice music and the glowing words of the most eloquent preachers. Nor was the suggested civil celebration forgotten ; processions and orations were the order of the day. To describe in detail these festivities would exceed the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say, that the voice of the Cardinal and the hierarchy met with a warm and general response.

Meanwhile stimulated by the vigorous action of His Grace, Archbishop Corrigan, and with his advice and co-operation, preparations went on apace in New York. The Catholic Club and the Catholic Historical Society combined their forces to make the celebration worthy of the event commemorated, of the hero, and of the Metropolis. A joint committee was organized and a programme mapped out. To others was committed the charge of the outdoor celebration, and how well they acquitted themselves all bear witness who beheld the parade of the parochial school children and of the Catholic societies. The Catholic Club and the Historical Society took in hand the literary and artistic celebration of the great anniversary. With zeal and energy

the joint committee devoted themselves to their task, and though the difficulties to be surmounted were far from slight, success crowned their efforts. To the regret of all, Mr. Daniel Dougherty, who had been so ardent an advocate of the celebration from the beginning, and from whose eloquent lips all expected a thrilling eulogy of Columbus, did not live to see the splendors of the festival. But the committee's labors were lightened by the sympathy they met with on all sides. In Mr. Dougherty's place Mr. Frederic R. Coudert and ex-Governor Carroll of Maryland eloquently set forth the achievements of the Genoese mariner and its world-embracing significance. Mr. George Parsons Lathrop and Miss Eliza Allen Starr sang his praise in melodious verse, while Prof. Bruno Oscar Klein composed a cantata, the merits of which were recognized on all hands. Nor must the singers be forgotten that made the occasion so great a success. To crown all, the Archbishop himself consented to preside on the occasion, and delivered a graceful and scholarly address, the beauties of which speak for themselves. He was introduced to the assembled hearers in well-chosen words by Judge Daly, the chairman of the Festival Committee. But words, however eloquent, are fleeting, and the committee determined that the occasion and the hero deserved a memorial that would go down to the men who will celebrate the fifth centenary, and beyond them to their successors in centuries to come. Accordingly the present volume was planned. It will tell to future generations how the Catholic men of New York, and especially their orators and poets, did homage and honor to the great man who discovered America. As the United States Catholic Historical Society had taken so important a part in starting and furthering the Catholic Columbian celebration, the field of their chosen labor, it was thought, should likewise be represented in this memorial volume. Hence the three important historical papers, which will add to its interest and value. To the Dominican Father Mandonnet, professor at the University of Freiburg, in Switzerland, we owe a most interesting and learned paper on Diego de Deza, the friend and patron of Columbus. He discusses learnedly and at length the part

this distinguished Dominican scholar, who subsequently became Archbishop of Seville, took in furthering the Genoese mariner's projects at the court of the Spanish sovereigns. Father J. F. X. O'Conor contributes an important paper giving a vivid sketch of the labors of the old Jesuit missionaries in the State of New York, and a condensed record of the missions of the Society of Jesus in the United States to the present day. As Catholic and Protestant writers have alike recognized in glowing terms the importance of their work from a historical and scientific point of view, and the devotion and heroism of the Fathers, our readers will surely appreciate Father O'Conor's contribution. To a learned member of the Order of St. Francis we owe thanks for his comprehensive picture of the labors of his brethren in the New World; we cordially thank the Provincial of the Order of St. Francis, the Very Rev. Father Anacletus, for this valuable paper, which he transmitted to us. The Franciscans were the companions of the discoverer and the first messengers of the Church who brought to the Western Continent the glad tidings of Christ's Gospel. Their activity extended over both divisions of the New World from Canada to Patagonia, and the Araucanians in the South revered the heroic sons of St. Francis no less than the Hurons in the North.

To give additional interest and value to this memorial volume, the Publication Committee has inserted a series of artistic and interesting full-page illustrations. The reader will find among them not only reproductions of all the important portraits of Columbus himself, but also the best authenticated pictures of Isabella and her husband.

This introduction would be incomplete without a hearty recognition of the zeal and energy displayed and the hard work done by the Joint Committee of the Catholic Club and the Catholic Historical Society who had in charge the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. To them and to their vigorous chairman, the Hon. Joseph F. Daly, is due the success of the festival; to them also belongs the credit of having compiled this tasteful memorial of an interesting event.

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JOINT COMMITTEE

ON THE CELEBRATION OF THE FOUR-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

JOSEPH F. DALY, *Chairman.*
THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.
JOHN NEWTON.
MORGAN J. O'BRIEN.
JOSEPH THORON.
ROBERT J. HOGUET.
WILLIAM R. GRACE.
CHARLES V. FORNES.
LOUIS BENZIGER.
HENRY AMY.
JOSEPH O'BRIEN.
CONRAD BACHEM.
JEREMIAH FITZPATRICK.
HENRY HEIDE.
AUGUSTIN WALSH.
PETER DOELGER.
RICHARD H. CLARKE.
JOSEPH J. O'DONOHUE.
FRANK A. OTIS.
JAMES H. McGEAN.
PATRICK FARRELLY.
CHARLES W. SLOANE.
JOHN D. KEILEY, JR.
FRANCIS D. HOYT, *Secretary.*

PROGRAMME.

PART I.

OVERTURE, "*Euryanthe*," . . . . C. M. WEBER

By Cappa's Orchestra.

INTRODUCTION. . . . . Hon. JOSEPH F. DALY

Chairman of the Joint Committee of the Catholic Club of the City of New York and the U. S. Catholic Historical Society.

ADDRESS, ... Most Rev. M. A. CORRIGAN

Archbishop of New York, Chairman of the meeting.

MUSIC, "*Fest-Klaenge*" (*Festal Strains*), . B. O. KLEIN

Conducted by the Composer.

ORATION, ... Hon. JOHN LEE CARROLL

Ex-Governor of Maryland.

ODE, "*Christopher Columbus*,"

Miss ELIZA ALLEN STARR, of Chicago

Music by Mr. BRUNO OSCAR KLEIN, of New York.

Baritone Solo, Chorus and Orchestra. Soloist, Sig. Giorgio Narberti, of St. Francis Xavier's Church Choir. Chorus, the Choirs of St. Francis Xavier's and St. Lawrence's Church, New York, St. Peter's Church, Jersey City, and gentlemen of the Palestrina Society, of New York.

Conducted by the Composer.

PART II.

POEM, "*Columbus, the Christ-Bearer, Speaks*,"

GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP, of Connecticut

NOTE.—In this poem Columbus is represented as speaking to us of the present time from a point beyond this life.

MUSIC, a. *Dance of the Gypsy;* b. *Finale*, . SAINT SAENS

ORATION, . FREDERIC R. COUDERT, Esq., of New York

MUSIC, ... NATIONAL AIRS

PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.

Painted by Mariano Maella probably a century after the death of Columbus, and engraved for the work of Señor Munoz on Columbus, published in Madrid in 1793. The original is in the possession of the present Duke of Veragua, the descendant of Columbus, and hangs in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. A copy was presented to the Philadelphia Academy of Arts by R. W. Meade in 1818. This portrait was used by Delaplaine for the frontispiece to his Gallery of Distinguished Americans, and the plate is a reproduction of his engraving.

INTRODUCTION

BY

CHIEF JUDGE JOSEPH F. DALY.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: A word of welcome is fitting to this notable assemblage, gathered at the invitation of two Catholic Societies, to celebrate this memorable anniversary. The Catholic Club and the Catholic Historical Society felt that there was a sentiment which desired expression on such an occasion, and they therefore ventured to take the lead in proposing to invite Catholic orators and poets, representing each section of our country, to address their fellow-citizens in New York.

There was a special propriety in these two societies taking such action. They aim to represent, the one Catholic citizenship, and the other Catholic study; and both American citizenship and American culture. The Catholic Club is not a mere social organization. It has a higher reason for existence than the providing for our young men more of that co-operative luxury which we call "club life." It has collected a library which is perhaps the richest on this continent in books relating to the Faith. This library is open to all who wish to use it, and is not only complete as regards Catholic writings, but gives the views of writers on both sides of the question. Lingard's History stands beside Hume's History. Both are there to study. The works of the Jesuits and the works against the Jesuits stand side by side on its shelves. When we recall that this club was originally founded by the Jesuits—that this library was commenced by them on those lines of free inquiry and investigation—I but state what all Catholics know of the broad and fair system of Jesuit education.

The Catholic Historical Society is designed to collect and perpetuate the records and testimony of all that the Catholic Church has done on this continent, and to trace the history of those of its children who peopled it from the time of its discovery. And the history of the Catholic Church in America begins with the history of America. The schoolboy who pictures to himself the ship of Columbus cleaving the seas, sees the cross upon its sail. The discovery of Columbus, which we commemorate to-day, is the greatest incident in the history of human endeavor. The share which the Catholic Church had in it was to foster it, to bless it, to make it possible.

The propriety of the celebration of that event by the Catholics of America is conceded by those who are not of our ancient faith. A journal of high character and of national reputation has suggested the loftiest reason for our commemorating this anniversary. I quote from its editorial utterance last Sunday:

"There is a peculiar fitness in the participation by the Catholic societies in the Columbian celebration, for the one fact that is most clearly established with reference to the remarkable career of Columbus is that his most cherished hope was to carry the blessings of the Church to the dwellers in darkness on the further side of the globe. To him the fate of human beings who perished before the means of salvation could be offered them, though not so gloomy as more 'enlightened' theologians of later years have pictured it, was at once sad and sure, and the prospect that he might bring them succor from their fate was a real and living force in his mind. And in these days of materialism, when the vast population of the continent he brought to the knowledge of Europe is largely absorbed in quite other preoccupations than those of the self-appointed evangelist, it is well to remember what infinite and unforeseen blessings may flow from the high and resolute pursuit of an unselfish aim."

This is unprejudiced testimony, not only to the high motives of Columbus as a Catholic, but to the lofty motives of every sincere Catholic, and is a recognition of the

infinite blessings which must result to his fellow-citizens by the practical Catholic's devotion to his faith. As Catholics, therefore, the members of the ever-living Church celebrate this anniversary, and what more appropriate, upon such an occasion, than to call the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in the State to preside over their proceedings? Conventional usage requires that I should formally introduce him to you—our Archbishop—whom we all know so well, and who, if a thought of self ever intruded into his mind, would esteem above all dignities and titles that he was first in the affections of his people. I have the honor to introduce the Most Reverend Archbishop Corrigan.

ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC.

From an engraving of the picture in the Royal Palace of Madrid.

Isabella was born April 22d, 1451, the daughter of John II. of Castile and of Isabella, granddaughter of John I. of Portugal. Her grandmother was Catherine of Lancaster, and by both parents she was descended from John of Gaunt, son of Edward III. of England. Among the suitors for her hand were the brother of the English King Edward IV. (probably Gloucester, afterward Richard III.), the brother of Louis XI., King of France, and her own kinsman, Ferdinand of Aragon. Her marriage with the latter took place October 19, 1469. Her youth after her father's death was passed in seclusion with her mother, by whom she was "carefully instructed in those lessons of practical piety and in the deep reverence for religion which distinguished her maturer years." "She was exceedingly beautiful: 'the handsomest lady,' says one of her household, 'whom I ever beheld and the most gracious in her manners.' The portrait still existing of her in the Royal Palace is conspicuous for an open symmetry of features, indicative of the natural serenity of temper and that beautiful harmony of intellectual and moral qualities which most distinguished her."—*Prescott.*

ADDRESS

OF

MOST REVEREND M. A. CORRIGAN, D.D.

MEMBERS OF THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE CATHOLIC CLUB, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I rise for a moment only, to return thanks to you all for the hearty manner in which you have responded to the kind words just uttered by Judge Daly. I appreciate it very highly. At the same time I take advantage of your goodness, now that you call upon me to say a few words, to offer an excuse for the shortness of the time that I am permitted to remain with you. As has been so well explained by Judge Daly, another event of importance also occurs this evening. All the Catholic Societies of the city are to parade, and a representative of the Chief Magistrate of our country has done them the great honor to signify that he will be present to review them. I allude to the Vice-President of the United States. With him, also, will be associated one who has already enjoyed the confidence of the people of this land in filling its highest office, and who is again a candidate for the same honor—Mr. Cleveland. The Governor of our State, Mr. Flower, will also be present. Therefore, as an act of courtesy, it is required that I should endeavor to be there, to greet them, and thank them for this public compliment which they pay to all the Catholic Societies of this city.

I am very glad to be able to say to you to-night that there are certain little coincidences which make this celebration in New York very appropriate. I need not allude to the fact that at this time, through the dispensation of the Holy See, the Diocese of New York comprises the very

spot of ground on which Columbus set his foot four hundred years ago. The islands of San Salvador, and the other islands of that group, are all at present under the jurisdiction of New York. After making four voyages to this country, Columbus died in Spain, but desired that his mortal remains should be carried to the land that he himself had discovered. There they remained for a number of years, and at the close of the last century they were supposed to have been brought to the city of Havana, when the Island of Hayti was ceded by Spain to France. However, a few years ago, a most important discovery was announced. It was related by the Delegate Apostolic at that time at San Domingo, that he had found the true remains of the great discoverer. This is a question that historical societies will have to settle: it is still controverted on both sides. There are certainly most powerful arguments adduced to prove that the remains were really those of the immortal Columbus. Be that as it may, I merely mention it so as to say that you are honored to-night by the presence of the Delegate Apostolic who goes in a few days to San Domingo. So that New York happens in a double sense to come near Columbus, both in the place that he landed on this continent and the place where his remains so long rested. In this connection, may I not also urge upon you all devotion and interest in this Historical Society? You know how many controversies have been waged for years and years over the history of the discovery of this country—how many points in the life of Columbus are still disputed. It is certainly to the great glory of this State of New York that the first impartial history of Columbus that the world has seen was written by one of its sons, the distinguished Washington Irving. But there were not so many historical societies in his time as there are to-day. Had the true facts of Columbus' voyage been committed to writing then, and the other events of his life been cared for in like manner, how many controversies and disputes would have been saved to the students of later ages! In many ways, historical societies are a very great advantage to the Church and to the State—an advantage to students at large; and

I trust that this Historical Society, which has to do with the history of our own country, with interesting facts particularly connected with the establishment and progress of religion therein, may be fostered and developed.

I have to congratulate the members of the Historical Society and the Catholic Club on their happy choice of the speakers of to-night. They deserve great credit. They first originated here in our midst, as far as we know, the idea of celebrating this anniversary with anything like the pomp which has been given to it. To the Historical Society of New York—in this diocese at least—is due the credit for taking the first steps towards securing the success of the present celebration. You must remember that the first impulse toward it was given by one whose lips, so full of eloquence, have since been sealed in death—the Hon. Daniel Dougherty. He is well represented this evening, and the representation brings in the entire country—North, South, East, and West. From the sunny South comes the honored ex-Governor of Maryland, who will so soon address you ; from the North, the last speaker of this evening, Mr. Coudert ; from the East, Mr. Lathrop ; and from the West, the voice of Miss Starr, which will be rendered to you in sweet strains of music. So that North, South, East, and West, all combine to-night to give to Columbus that merit which so rightly belongs to him. I congratulate you in advance on the treat that is in store for you.

PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.

From André Thevet's "Portraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres," Paris, 1584. According to N. D. Clerck, in his Toneel der Beroemder Hertogen, Delft, 1617, the original painting from which it was engraved was obtained by Thevet from Lisbon, having been painted there from life by a Dutch artist. It was engraved for North's edition of Plutarch's Lives, Cambridge, 1676, and Bullart's Academie des Sciences et des Arts, Brussels, 1682.

ORATION

OF

JOHN LEE CARROLL.

I DO not propose in the few remarks I shall make to you this evening to enter upon any historical narrative of the virtues, the courage, the trials and disappointments, nor even of the final triumph of the great Catholic discoverer of the continent of North America.

This will doubtless be laid before you in all its details by the able papers written upon this subject, and which it is proposed to embody in a memorial volume containing the proceedings of this celebration.

It will be my purpose simply to draw your attention for a few moments to some of the reasons why civilized Europe to-day is so deeply interested in the approaching celebration of this great historic event; why the event itself appeals so strongly to the patriotic feelings of every American who loves his country and appreciates her enormous progress and advantages; and secondly, what part the Catholic Church has taken, not only in the discovery of the continent, but also in maintaining the Christian character of the millions who have sprung from what has aptly been looked upon as almost a second creation.

The interest which to-day is centred in America and the prospects of the Columbian Exposition is not entirely an unselfish interest or one which is based upon any sentimental love for us or for our institutions. It springs mainly from the commercial value of these United States in their relations with the rest of the world. To state it in figures, which, astounding as they may appear, are none the less correct, the portion of this vast continent known as the

United States imports and consumes more than eight hundred millions of dollars of the products of the European manufacturers and of the tillers of their fertile soil.

The human imagination can scarcely realize the vast importance of that single statement. Who can estimate the arteries of life through which this stream of profit flows, or figure up the comfort and consolation to a people for whom a single market opens such a world of wealth and prosperity? And yet this is only one of the many advantages they enjoy. Only last year, when famine stalked abroad and almost decimated the people of all the Russias, when Germany and France and the whole of Central Europe were startled by the fact that the products of their soil could not maintain one-third of their population, and that the usual source of supply from Southern Russia was cut off to relieve the home demand, the cable flashed the welcome news that the Providence of God had highly favored this Western world, and that the plains of America could furnish to their millions of people the necessaries for their daily life. And in fact this is what we did accomplish.

The exports to Europe last year from our shores, ninety per cent. of which came from the products of the soil, amounted in value to over a thousand millions of dollars poured into the lap of a destitute and suffering people. But even this is only a portion of our pecuniary value to our foreign friends. The tourists from this country spend two hundred millions in their wanderings and their purchases in the mighty field of European art, and as the whole of the carrying trade of this gigantic commerce is in their hands, it has been estimated that one hundred millions annually would scarcely pay the benefits which flow from this single source.

When, therefore, we contemplate these enormous figures, we can readily understand why a practical people should be anxious to retain the most confidential relations with us.

But let us lay aside for a moment this sordid view, which tells perhaps too strongly of the shop, and see what else we offer to the foreigner which touches the strings of his heart and moves the impulses of his nature. He sees beyond the bil-

lows of the great Atlantic a nation grown to manhood in a hundred years, blessed with a government of freedom without license, of strength without tyranny, of law and order without military despotism, of religious toleration guaranteed by the Constitution, and of absolute equality of political rights for the rich and the poor, the high and the low.

Who can wonder, then, that he weighs the anchors which have bound him and his people for a thousand years, and sails forth upon that broad ocean which, thanks to the great Columbus, is no longer an unknown sea?

Who can wonder that he comes to us at the rate of a million a year to swell the vast tide of our population, to build our railroads, to cultivate our soil, and to link his destinies forever with those of the great Republic? It matters little to us what may be his political sentiments when he lands upon this shore—they may even be those of the foreign anarchist—for he very soon will learn that this is a country of education and of order, in which no man will seek to oppress him; but if he plants himself in opposition to the written law, he will be overwhelmed by its justice and its strength.

Therefore, I hold that since the finger of Almighty God pointed out to the people of Israel the glories and the profits of the promised land, never has there been opened to the human race so marvelous a prospect of freedom and of happiness as that which sprang from the discovery and founding of this Western world. Hence, as American citizens, we are proud of the prospects of our coming Exposition, proud of the sentiment which called it forth, and we fully realize that the world anticipates that in grandeur of conception and in beauty of execution it will not be surpassed by any monument which has marked the progress and the civilization of modern times. We will be prepared to welcome our guests from every quarter of the globe in whatever numbers they may come, and while we receive them with a hospitality as boundless as the continent itself, we will endeavor to show them, one and all, that four hundred years have not diminished the lustre of

the great explorer nor effaced the gratitude of the mighty nation which has followed his courageous lead.

And now let us briefly see what share the grand old Catholic Church has had in this overshadowing benefit bestowed on man. This is, I take it, essentially a Catholic celebration, sanctified by the suggestions of the Holy Father himself, and confirmed by the mandates of his Eminence the Cardinal, and his Grace the Archbishop of New York.

It is a Catholic celebration, because at the time of the great discovery, and for nearly a hundred years afterwards, the service of the Catholic Church was the only form of Christian worship known within the borders of the Western World. It is a Catholic celebration, because in landing on the Island of San Salvador the first act of Catholic Columbus was to unfurl the banner of the cross, and to offer up in thanksgiving the holy sacrifice of the Mass. It is a Catholic celebration, because every step which advanced the civilization of this continent, north or south, east or west, was preceded by the emblem of our religion, borne by willing hands and hearts who in many instances sealed with their blood the sincerity of their devotion. We all well know that when the great explorer turned his fleet towards the south he abandoned forever the northern portion of our continent, and that the colonists who undertook the settlement of our own country were for the most part made up of the French, the Dutch, and the English races. But we also know that with them came the Jesuit missions, and that through all the long and dreary years, when every foot of the land we now inhabit was firmly held by roving tribes of savages, to whom Christianity was an unknown name and the white man an enemy to be destroyed on sight, the silent laborers of the Catholic Church were sowing the seed of that religion which now has taken root in the hearts of millions of our countrymen.

The history of the Jesuit missionaries of Canada and North America, filled with the record of their daring deeds and their heroic martyrdom, outstrips in romance the fabled wonders of the old world, and stands in its truth as a beacon light for the admiration of all posterity. If we take the story

of the Ark and the Dove, and follow the fortunes of the Jesuit Thomas Copley, himself of noble lineage and of rich inheritance, we can trace him as he administers the sacraments to the dying colonists in the swamps of Maryland, until we find him at last in the assembly of St. Mary's urging by his voice and presence the adoption of that great act of religious toleration which has ever been the pride and glory of our State; that act which declared that upon the soil of Maryland, at least, religion should be forever free, and that loyalty to our country's government should be confined to no class or to no religious sect of our citizens. And this was one hundred and fifty years before the Constitution of the United States was made!

Let me say to you, there can be no more thrilling episode in history than that of the Jesuit Indian missionaries of Canada and the Northern States; no such ferocity on record as that shown by the savage tribes of "Mohawks," "Algonquins," and the "Hurons," and no martyrs at any stage of the Christian era ever underwent more tragic sufferings than the saintly names of Lallemant and Brébœuf.

When we think of the trials of these men, far from the haunts of civilization, with no cause to urge them on but that of high morality and religion, with no hope of personal gain, but every promise of untold torture and of death, do we not stop in amazement to recognize the divinity of that religion which nerved their hearts and gave strength and power to their arms? And so it is to-day. Amid all the corruption which at times has stained the management of our Indian frontier, it has been admitted by all, and openly proclaimed in the Senate of the United States, that the Catholic missionary priest, uncommissioned by the Government, with no arms but his rosary, with no companion but the sincerity of his faith, with no salary but the consciousness of duty well performed, is the only man whose influence over the savage mind gives the promise of peace and security to the settlers of the distant West.

I have thus briefly referred to the history of our early Catholic days for the purpose of showing you that there is no stain upon our record, that we can look with pride upon

every page of that story and realize what those have done who have gone before us. And now the small seed which was planted in those early days, and nurtured by the missionaries and martyrs of the Church, has grown into a mighty tree and has spread its branches over every portion of our favored land.

Protected by the power of our free institutions, we have grown in numbers from forty thousand to nearly ten millions of people, united to a man in the profession of our faith, standing firmly by our Church in the war she has always waged against socialists and communistic men, and yielding to none in our readiness to defend forever the immortal principles of the American Revolution.

Who therefore can justly say that the influences which have brought about these great results are not equally necessary in the future to cheer us onward in the days of our prosperity, and to strengthen us in the hour of our trials? For who can doubt we will have trials, ay, even greater, perhaps, than those through which we have already passed? Do we not remember that in the very noon-day of our success we were suddenly stricken by the greatest calamity that can befall a people—that for four long years the land was rent from end to end with civil feud, and the wild element of war wasted our substance, desolated our homes, and hurried a million of our people to untimely graves?

Who then shall say what the future has in store for us of good or evil? How are we to determine the many grave and serious controversies which must arise in the coming administrations of the government?

Who will bring to a happy issue the varied questions of capital and labor, of poverty and wealth, of trade and finance, of crimes and punishments, of local jealousies and of sectional animosities? Who will stem the great tide of political corruption, which is sure to follow in the wake of enormous expenditure and of mountains of taxation heaped upon the people? Who will guide us through the various disputes, which even religious dissensions may bring upon us?

Is it too much for me to say that these may be the rocks, the hidden rocks, which lie deep beneath the surface of our

prosperity? And if ever the day should come, which God forbid, when men are goaded on to madness, and convulsion threatens to destroy the temple of government we have reared, it will be a dark hour for the future of this great land if we discard the counsels of the Catholic Church, and are not guided by her principles of charity and moderation.

PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.

From the Royal Museo Borbonaico in Naples; said to have been painted by Francesco Mazzioli, who assumed the name Parmigiano, from his native city Parma. It was executed in 1527 by the order of Cardinal Alexander Farnese, twenty-one years after the death of Columbus, and must be purely fanciful, notwithstanding that the English publishers of Prescott's works selected it to illustrate his Ferdinand and Isabella. A copy of it was presented to the Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass., in 1853, by Mr. Ira M. Burton. The original was removed from the Farnese estates to the Royal Museum by the King of Naples.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

ODE BY ELIZA ALLEN STARR.

INVOCATION.

O Thou whose way is on the sea,
Make known to me
The path Thy dread Archangels keep
Across the awful deep;
Flash o'er the shadowy main
Light from those stars that wane
Beyond our welkin's space,
That I, a man, may trace,
Upon adoring knees,
God's highway o'er mysterious seas.

VOYAGE.

Christ, on these shoulders rest,
While I the billows breast;
My only care,
Christ and His truth to bear
To shores unknown;
Where God is not;
In His own works forgot!
Queen, on thy starry throne,
Cheer, with thine eyes benign,
This lonely quest of mine!

LANDING.

Glory to God on high!
Thine be the praise
Through length of days!
Fly, royal banner, fly!

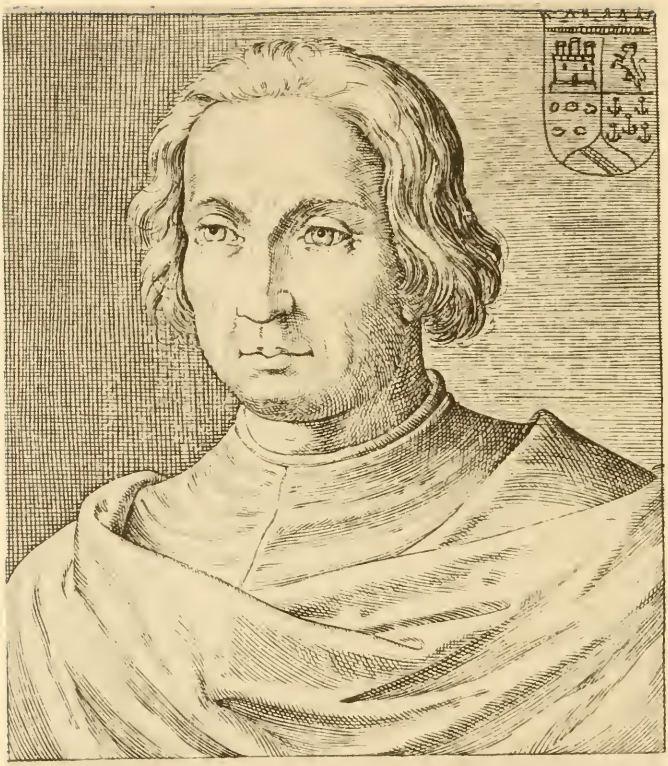
Christ to His own is nigh,
For on this flowery strand
The cross doth now victorious stand!
Sovereigns of mighty Spain,
Joy to your reign!
Castile's most gracious Queen,
Await, serene,
Thy future's double crown
Of just renown!

DEATH.

Hush! o'er that bed of death,
Swayed by the failing breath,
A clank of chains!
"Peace to the noble dead!"
With tears, by men is said;
While Angels sigh, "God reigns."

FOURTH CENTENARY.

To-day, what pæans sound
The glad earth round!
"Colombo!" chime the bells;
Each breeze "Colombo" swells;
O'er land, o'er sea,
One burst of melody —
"A New World found."



CHRISTOPHORO COLOMBO

PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.

From Aliprando Capriolo's "Ritratti de di Cento Capitani Illustri," Rome, 1596, and the "Ritratti di Capitani Illustri," Rome, 1635. Reproduced by Carderera and Navarrete in their works on Columbus. The Royal Academy of History of Madrid, to which the city of Genoa applied in 1862 for a model for a likeness of Columbus for a public monument, reported that this portrait was equally authentic with the Giovio portrait, and a better piece of engraving.

COLUMBUS THE CHRIST-BEARER SPEAKS.

BY

GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

O clouds! far clouds like languages that rise,
Blown breath made visible from lips all-wise,
Tracing dim characters of mystic form,
And signs of wonder in the distant heaven;
What speak ye to me? Not of rolling storm,
Unrest or tremulous calm, to this life given:
Nay! But a message from the farthest skies,
God's living air,
That strangely calls: "Arise,
Go forth, and bear!"

So spoke the heaven. And I, Columbus, heard;
Columbus the gray Admiral, known to you.
I, from the twilight hollows of the past
That then were thrilled with dawn, the Word recall.

Wind-buffeted and worn, and steeped in grief;
Salt spray and bitter tears upon my face;
So now you see me. But I, then, was young;
And there at Genoa on the quay I dreamed
And saw the future. Yea: "Arise, go forth,
And bear!" By day the moving shapes of cloud,
Solemn or bright, that message mutely spelled;
As though the speech of nations age-long dead
Were writ in shadowy lines upon the sky,
Bidding me do God's will! At night, in fire
That high command blazed out through all the stars,
Whence gleamed the gaze of wise men in the past,
But, over all, God's light that led me on.

A boy! Yet through the awful stress of years,
Of storm and conflagration, wreck and war,
Of men's wild strife and murder, I kept the faith,
A child's faith, pure.

Not mine the race to change,
Or make new men who better should disclose
God's likeness; but to take the men I found,
And mould them, rude, to servants of His word.
I, rude myself, a sailor, full of faults,
Yet bending still to Him my thoughts, my will,
My learning and my act, — what could I hope
More than to win them, that they, too, should bear
The sacred burden, and help carry Christ
Unto the far new land o'er seas unknown?

High was that mission, to me unworthy given.
But hardship trained my hands. Firm hope made whole
My weakness; lending to my spirit wings
Across the deep to fly. When hope grew frail,
Sad poverty came, and with her slow calm smile
Gave me the kiss of peace, and made me strong.
So — dowered with patience, hope, faith, charity —
A beggar at the gates of that New World
I stood, whose key I held, and I alone.

O key of gold, unlocking wealth of dreams!
I dreamed of wealth; yet chiefly to unlock
The Holy Sepulchre from heathen hold.
More have I suffered from the lies of men,
Than all the gain to me my service brought;
Save gain in heaven. Oh! gladly I went forth,
Toil-worn and tried, yet joyous even then
To bear to realms unfound the name of Christ,
And set His cross there, sign of life in death.
So where the first mark of the New World shone,
A twinkling light upon a shore unseen,
We raised the cross — there on San Salvador.

And all along Cipango and Cathay
And fertile Ornofay we showed the cross ;
Then later by that three-hilled isle that rose
From out the waves, type of the Trinity ;
And on Paria, called the coast of pearls,
Where the sweet stream from Eden's Tree of Life
Flowed down and mingled with the bitter gulf.

What matter if ye now by other names
Have called these lands ; or if my name be swept
Far from their verge, and drowned in rumor false ?
The cross I planted there : the cross remains !

I, for my part, disdain at last received ;
Sent home in chains, dishonored, outcast, poor.
Sweet poverty then, who first to this great work
Had consecrated me, gave me her crown
Of lowly blessing at the hour of death.
Yet, lost in grief, "O Heaven, pity me !"
I cried. "I, who have wept for others long,—
Weep, earth, for me ! All ye who justice love
And truth—for me, Columbus, weep and pray !"

But on my sorrow sudden radiance burst.
The broken chain, hung on my death-room's wall,
Was token of earth's bondman now set free.
And lo ! I saw that I who bore the Christ
Unto the New World's border—I, the same,—
God in His mercy granted me to bear
His Holy Cross of grief through all my life.

Ye who inherit the New World I found,
With riches yet untold to touch or sight,
Beware lest poverty of soul should blast
Your earthly splendor. This New World is yours ;
Yet dream not it is all. Still speak the clouds,
Though dumbly, of the future and the past.
Still shine the stars, with unforgetting gleam ;
And God remembers. Yours is this New World ;

But the great world of faith all still must seek
With trustful sail borne by a dauntless mast
Like mine. Nor wreck nor shoal, nor hate nor fear,
Nor foul ingratitude shall stay your course ;
Nor chains unjust. Sail bravely forth, and find
The New World here of Christ's truth realized !

So I, Columbus, the gray Admiral, speak
From out the furrows of unmeasured seas
That spread a seeming waste 'twixt you and God.
For still I voyage on, with perfect hope,
To that pure world of heaven, for ever new,
Where Time reigns not, but God for ever reigns.

FERRANDO RE CATHOLICO

FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

From the Ritratti et Elogii di Capitani Illustri, published at Rome, 1635.

Ferdinand was born March 10, 1452, at Sos, in Aragon, the son of John II. and his second wife Joan Henriquez, of the blood royal of Castile, daughter of Don Frederick Henriquez, Admiral of that kingdom. He succeeded to the throne in 1479, married Isabella of Castile in 1469, and died January 22, 1516.

By the will of Isabella, his wife, whom he survived, he was made Regent of her Kingdom of Castile, as she writes, "on account of his magnanimity and illustrious qualities, as well as his large experience, and the great profit which will redound to the state from his wise and beneficent rule." The historian Prescott records his impartial justice; his watchful solicitude to shield the weak from the strong; his wise economy, sobriety, and moderation; his decorum and respect for religion; the industry promoted by his wise laws and his own example, and the consummate sagacity which made him the oracle of the princes of the age.

ORATION

OF

FREDERIC R. COUDERT.

THE early life of Columbus offers a most alluring field to the historian of a speculative and imaginative turn of mind. The story abounds in doubts and rests upon a nice calculation of probabilities. The writer must make a free use of the potential mode, and may only indulge in positive statements with misgivings as to his own accuracy. While Homer has been claimed by seven different cities, all of them anxious to secure the fame of having given him birth, Columbus may boast even more. Genoa seems to be the first in the race; to make her claims sure, a noble Marquis, a few years ago, pointed out a venerable structure in which he asserts that the great discoverer was born. As nothing can be plainer than the fact that the Marquis speaks only upon information and belief, no imputation upon his veracity is cast by those who name other claimants as entitled to the much coveted honor. Unless the Genoese champion may emulate Pythagoras, who assured his hearers that he had been present, in the flesh, centuries before, at the siege of Troy, in the person of Euphorbus, and proved the assertion by pointing out the shield which he then wore, we require other evidence to sustain the Marquis's assertion. If, however, Columbus was not born in Genoa, who knows whether his eyes did not first open to the light in Corsica? At least a learned Abbé so states, and the town of Calvi has given earnest of its convictions by erecting a monument to assure posterity of the fact and to place it beyond the shadowy regions of historical controversy.

If we may without discourtesy venture to dispute the Abbé and the monument and turn our back on Corsica, we shall find Cucaro, Cugureo, Piacenza and other towns, rapidly increasing in number as time rolls on, to vindicate their claims. It is not here necessary, fortunately for us, to settle the dispute. The part of wisdom is rather to follow the example of the Chicago Fair, and to photograph all the rival sites, with generous impartiality and unreserved confidence in the judgment of the citizen who shall undertake to decide the question for himself. It is enough to say here that Columbus, more fortunate than Homer, was certainly born and lived and died—so far as such men as Homer and Columbus ever die.

So, too, it may be said by hasty and reckless writers that Columbus was of Italian descent, but even here doubt throttles assertion and bids it pause. Is it quite sure that Columbus did not owe part, at least, of his daring and courage and tenacity to the French blood which, it is stated by some authorities, flowed in his veins? Not a mean and plebeian blood, but a bluish and gentle fluid, that had run in bright channels through the bodies of gallant men and fair women. An Admiral in the French navy would, according to some, be responsible in the far past for the propensity, invincible and enduring in Columbus, to scour the seas. A clear case of atavism, even if the French ancestor was a bold pirate as well as a noble Admiral. Again it is our good fortune to-night that we need not decide the question. But I deem it my duty to warn you that no inference unfavorable to this theory is to be drawn from the fact that French writers lay no stress upon the possible circumstance that Columbus may have been warmed and invigorated by the same blood as themselves. They exhibit a curious apathy and indifference in this respect. Do they not pass without notice and without a proper exhibition of exultation the well-ascertained truth that Washington himself was one of their kinsmen? Is it not probable that his strong, cold nature was occasionally warmed up to its boiling point by an ebullition wholly French? If the great, strange oaths that he swore at Lee on the plains of Mon-

mouth had been accurately preserved they might throw some light upon the subject. What shall we say of a nation that allows Scotland to capture St. Patrick and claim him as her own, without regard to the truth of history or the probable preferences of the good Saint himself? It is idle to pursue this digression; it was only intended to explain why the possible right of Columbus to claim a French ancestry was not diminished by the negligence of French writers of history to uphold it.

Wherever born and from whatever parent root he sprang, Columbus was, for the time, a well-educated man. I am tempted to say a well-educated gentleman, and upon the whole conclude that this term may be safely adopted, although it is a matter of doubt whether his parents were of noble rank or simply carders of wool. This subject is not one of great importance, however, if we adopt the suggestion made by an ingenious writer that wool-carding was a very reputable business, in which persons of birth and education not infrequently engaged, so that the two theories may be happily reconciled by the conclusion that neither excludes the truth of the other.

To decide where Columbus received his early education is comparatively easy. There are but two cities seriously claiming the title of pedagogue to the future discoverer. These are Genoa and Padua. The strongest argument thus far advanced in favor of the latter is to the effect that Genoa, being imperfectly equipped with educational appliances, he *must* have imbibed his learning at Paduan fountains. This is very much as though one were to say, of any learned native of Brooklyn or Philadelphia whose Alma Mater was unknown, that he must have studied at Columbia College.

Having thus settled that Columbus was born in Italy or Corsica, that he was a descendant of French or Italian ancestors, that he was born of noble though wool-carding parents and educated at Genoa or Padua, and without attempting to fix the date of his birth as utterly beyond our ability to establish, the remaining work before the student of the great man's life is comparatively easy. The

doubts and difficulties that beset us are no greater than those that arise when we deal with others of the world's great children. We may trace his struggles and trials, sympathize with him in the bitterness of his disappointments, marvel at the unflinching courage and tenacity of his purpose, and follow him, almost day by day, from the moment when he stepped on his puny caravel to the hour of his death.

It has been the fashion of many admirers of Columbus to look for the elements of a special inspiration in his life, labors and successes. It has been assumed by them that his fame would be magnified, if he were shown to be the special object of a Divine selection for the accomplishment of great ends. That he was prompted, guided, directed and protected by Divine Providence, and that without this aid he would have failed in the accomplishment of his purpose, is merely to state a proposition in which all believers in the ever-present influence of a divine will may acquiesce. But there is nothing to justify the contention that Columbus, like Joan of Arc, was called by an irresistible command to perform a task which he was not in every way, by nature and education, fitted to perform. The little Maid of Orleans, who left her peaceful home to save her country, with no knowledge of war, no skill in arms, no taste for shedding human blood, may well stand before posterity and challenge universal homage and tender admiration for deeds that exhibit the luminous traces of special inspiration. It is quite as easy to believe her own pathetic story as to account in any other way for the development of the plain, modest, pious, peasant girl into a skillful, brave and successful warrior. The two cases, of Joan and of Columbus, may serve as illustrations of the dividing line between that impetus which derives its sole force and origin from an unseen and providential cause and the natural, logical and expected result of genius and courage, working under God's Providence to a definite and well-conceived end. Columbus had received the gift of genius, which is of itself a sort of inspiration, to accomplish great things. Genius is not the result nor creation of education, nor the fruit of toil, nor the

gift of ancestry ; it is a spark that is blown into a flame, without the consciousness of its possessor, and which then lights up the world, for good or for evil. Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Mahomet and Napoleon stand apart from the rest of the world as men thus gifted. Many would add Columbus to the list, although his title to be ranked in such company is not universally conceded.

We are naturally disposed, after these 400 years, looking through the dim veil of commingled History and Romance, to treat the discovery of America by Columbus as a marvelous and unequaled event, which only a rare combination of circumstances could produce. It is assumed that there was little in the past history of the world, or in the knowledge then held by learned men, to justify the belief that the extremities of the world had not been reached. But such delusions cannot withstand a moment's scrutiny. The marvel is, not that the discovery *was* made, but that it had not been made long before. It was as inevitable that it should be effected at an early date as the discovery of printing was sure to follow the invention of paper. To use a common but expressive form of speech — it was in the air. Proof abounded that there was an undiscovered land far to the West, and that a continent, supposed to be the continent of Asia, might be directly reached by sailing in a westerly direction from Europe over the Atlantic. Evidence sufficient to convict the strange land of being a reality had been repeatedly furnished, in almost conclusive form. Navigators driven by storm beyond the Azores had found curiously carved woods, manifestly of some other than European origin ; a large canoe, capacious enough to hold twenty rowers, had been picked up at sea, and also strange trees of a kind unknown to Europeans ; more striking than all, perhaps, the bodies of men, of a dark color, had been thrown up by the sea, and had shown that somewhere in the West a race of human beings would be found, differing in appearance from any then known, whether of European, Asiatic or African origin. Marco Polo, the great traveler, had returned from his explorations and told strange tales of the countries that he had visited, Tartary, India, China ; these were

supposed to extend as far as the continent now known as the continent of America.

But neither the physical proofs thus furnished by flood and tide and storm nor the narratives of travelers could extirpate the deeply-rooted prejudices of men and overcome the invincible ignorance of the great mass of mankind.

Men had eyes to see, but the lessons taught by the bodies of dead men and strange plants and beasts they could not read. They had ears, but they would not listen to the tales of travelers, preferring, as sluggish indolence always does, to call them lies and thus end the debate.

We must remember, however, that the world was not plunged in absolute ignorance as to the conformation of the earth. The idea that its form was spherical was old and accepted by learned men. Ptolemy and the geographers of Arabia had long taught that the earth was in the form of a globe and might be circumnavigated. The loadstone and astrolabe had been invented and had made navigation comparatively easy and safe.

Nor was this all. The fact must have been known to many that there was a new land to the west of Greenland. The hardy Norsemen had put their foot upon it five hundred years before Columbus turned his back on Palos. They had made repeated voyages between Greenland and Iceland. Even were we not assured by positive proof that such was the fact, we must have drawn the conclusion from irresistible evidence. The dauntless sailors who left Norway to settle in Iceland, and from Iceland reached Greenland, were not the men to permit the narrow seas to separate them from the continent that was within easy reach. Even had they been willing to leave the neighboring ocean unexplored, some beneficent storm from the northeast must have forced them into a reluctant knowledge of their neighbors. The distance between Iceland and Greenland is 750 miles; America is but 250 miles from Greenland. The old Vikings, who were never so thoroughly at home as when they trod the deck of a stout ship in a storm, are not open to the reproach of having feared to test the mysteries of these unknown waters. The record of northern voyages is too well known to leave

a doubt as to their having been made and having resulted in the discovery of America. In the year 986, Bjorne Herjwissen saw the land which we now call New England. It was originally called Vinland, on account of the grapes that were discovered there and said to produce good wine. So satisfactory and complete was the evidence of the existence of this remote land, that Pope Paschal II., as early as the year 1112, appointed Eric Upsi Bishop of Iceland, Greenland and Vinland, and the Bishop, it is said, actually visited Vinland in person during the year 1121. While we have no accurate data as to the spiritual condition of the new diocese, we know that it was extensive enough in point of area. It certainly is interesting to read that nearly four hundred years before Columbus and his people undertook to evangelize the peaceful inhabitants of the West, the Church was solicitous enough to send out one of her servants to teach the natives the truths of the Gospel, and to bring them within the fold. Unfortunately, the great plague that wellnigh depopulated Norway put an end for many years to schemes of distant philanthropy and foreign adventure.

Nor was Vinland the only section of America on which the European had set his foot. "Great Ireland" antedates even these early attempts and had long been discovered by men from Ireland when Are Marsen visited that region in 983. They occupied the country south of the Chesapeake Bay, including North and South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida. When in 999, Gudlief Gudlangson and his sailors were driven by storms to America, they landed in an unknown region, where they were at once met by several hundred natives whose language was apparently Irish. The methods of these natives were not as courteous and civilized as those of their modern descendants, for they at once seized the foreigners and bound them, thus forcibly signifying their doctrine of home rule and their determination to retain the country for themselves as the rightful owners thereof. They did not harm the unwilling invaders of their territory, however, but allowed them to depart unmolested, after signifying with marked emphasis that it would not be safe to remain—a piece of wise conduct that might have been emulated with

advantage by the natives who afterwards received some of the followers of Columbus with open arms.

From the historical fragments left us it is almost certain that Columbus knew of the existence of a continent in the far West. He was by profession a geographer and earned his living by drawing and selling charts that were highly esteemed for their accuracy. The study of the physical world was his favorite pursuit. It is to be presumed that he knew of these subjects all that the learned men of his day had acquired; with these elements of fact to work upon his ingenious mind could reach but one conclusion. A strong additional circumstance lends weight to these considerations. There is no doubt that in or about 1427 Columbus visited Iceland, which has been termed the hinge upon which the discovery of America turned. There he must necessarily have learned something of the traditions which preserved the old Norse discoveries from oblivion. Can it be supposed that he, filled as he was with the ambition of making his way to India through undiscovered seas, never heard of Vinland nor of the Bishop appointed by Paschal? Then, too, Adam von Bremen's account had been published in 1073, if we may speak of publication before the invention of printing, and perpetuated the brave deeds of the Norse navigators. No wonder, then, that Columbus spoke and acted as though he *knew* rather than conjectured, calculated or imagined. "When he had formed his theory," says Washington Irving, "it became fixed in his mind with singular firmness. He never spoke in doubt or hesitation, but with as much certainty as if his eyes had already seen the promised land." A very probable statement and a very natural condition of mind if he had read of the Norse discoveries, the Irish settlement, the Papal appointment of a Bishop to Vinland, and was familiar with the household traditions of the Norsemen.

We may, then, assume the truth of the proposition that the condition of the public mind was such that an attempt to penetrate the mystery of the Western seas was inevitable, and the further proposition that of all men fitted for the task none was more competent than Columbus. That he should have become possessed of this one fixed, absorbing thought

was not strange. He was ambitious of honors, title, wealth, power and fame; all these lay on the route to India, the land of Solomon's Mines, the Ophir of boundless promise, the undiscovered country which held in its bosom treasures vast enough to challenge the wildest imagination, to realize the wildest dream.

Why the effort was so long delayed, why Columbus himself, eloquent, learned, enthusiastic as he was, wore away twenty long years in the vain attempt to enlist royal sympathy in favor of his scheme, seems difficult to account for, but some reasons for the strange lethargy may be advanced.

The natural fear of the Unknown has always fed upon a superstitious fear of Providence. The Roman poet strongly and beautifully expressed it when he condemned the restless spirit of men who leaped over the natural boundaries created by Jove—who dared to sail over the waters which the Deity had interposed as a barrier between dissociated continents, and who, by their impious disregard of Divine laws, challenged Jove's wrath and never permitted his thunders to intermit their destructive bolts. A feeling somewhat akin to this still survived and was only beginning to yield before a more general diffusion of enlightened views.

The proposed attempt to brave the horrors of the unknown ocean was looked upon by many as impious and dangerous, at one and the same time. The anger of the sea was less to be dreaded than the wrath of its Master. Men had been warned by Divine lips that they should not tempt the Lord their God ; what was this bold venture into the very jaws of death but a challenge and a defiance to the Almighty? Scientific reasons were often brushed aside even by learned men. Some of these, while admitting the rotundity of the earth, still urged the rashness of the attempt. Grant that the world was round, grant that a hardy navigator might sail far into unknown regions, the moment would come when, the Antipodes being reached, the doomed ship must drop from the sea that has thus far sustained her weight, and, plunging helplessly into infinite space, meet a fate as dreadful as it was deserved. And if by some

strange and hitherto unknown physical law, the fated bark still clung to the slippery waters, how could it be expected that, in defiance of all principles and all rules of physics, she would climb back, upon the liquid and treacherous hill, to the point whence she had started? Thus, a little knowledge proved a dangerous thing; it gave the objector the prestige of scientific acquirements in dealing with the matter, and he was only the more dangerous because he was somewhat less ignorant than his followers.

The arguments from Scripture were especially dangerous, and were perhaps the most difficult to answer. They came from pious and good men, who placed their own narrow interpretation upon isolated passages, and gave them a meaning which condemned such attempts as blasphemous. The prophets and the fathers of the Church were frequently quoted as being conclusively opposed to the plans of Columbus. Lactantius was cited as saying that it was the height of absurdity to pretend that there was such a part of the world as the Antipodes were supposed to represent, where men walked about with their heels in the air and their heads down; where human beings had their feet directly opposite to ours; where everything was reversed, the trees growing with their roots in the air and the branches in the ground. No one could deny that such propositions were very absurd, and in fact incredible, if faith in the Antipodes obliged belief in such an upheaval and reversal of physical laws. Then, too, it had been said that all men came from Adam, which was surely not the case if there was another race of men in that fabulous country. Finally, some learned doctors, applying a figurative test to the exigencies of the discussion, cited the passages of the Scriptures wherein it is stated that the Lord stretched the skies over the land like unto a tent, which was clearly impossible if the earth was round. At least so they argued, and with no small success.

Against these and other such adversaries Columbus waged his battle. He was himself a pious man, deeply imbued with the doctrines of the Church. His reply was, therefore, such as a devout Christian would venture to offer; it was not the sneer of a scoffer, nor the challenge of an infidel.

He sought to reconcile the truths of Scripture with those which he gathered from science and experience, and to deal gently and patiently with ignorance and prejudice, whatever their origin and whatever the garb in which they were clothed. He was eloquent, enthusiastic, learned and skillful in debate ; but with all these qualities he might have failed in his purpose but for the timely aid of churchmen whose orthodoxy was beyond dispute. Diego de Deza, in particular, a Dominican, subsequently Bishop of Toledo, gave him his warm support, and lent the color of religious regularity to the advocacy of the new cause. Other religious men joined him to overcome the opposition that had so bitterly assailed Columbus and his strange theories ; but even with this valuable aid, it was a long and weary contest, that wore out the great adventurer's best days. Portugal, Genoa, Spain, were each in turn appealed to. The confident hope of a result that would startle the world and enrich the promoters of his cause beyond their dreams was urged in vain to incredulous ears. Inconceivable as was this stubborn resistance to his appeals, it baffled him for years, and he would probably have ended his days without sight of the promised land but for the friend whom a kind Providence placed upon his path, when hope was well-nigh dead. The prior of the humble convent of La Rabida received the weary traveler when his fortunes were at their lowest ebb ; his charity revived the wanderer when with his young son he turned his back upon great visions to seek for food and shelter. These, with gentle sympathy, the good prior gave from his heart to the baffled and dispirited chart-maker. He filled him with new courage, started him afresh upon his journey, put money in his purse, furnished him with letters of commendation to the Queen, with fitting garments for one who aspired to enter and ask the favor of a Court ; and, more than all, with the assurance that, be the treatment of that Court what it might, the door of La Rabida was ever open and ready to receive its one-time guest with unfailing love. Wherever the story of Columbus is told, the name of Juan Perez should be named with reverence. Amid all the vanities and petty ambitions of the

time and occasion, he stands out almost alone as the embodiment of all that is best in human nature. No selfish motives tainted his action. As has been well and truly said, the prior gave Columbus his heart, and, strange to tell, he never took it back.

Thanks to Juan Perez, Columbus had audience of the King and Queen, an admirably assorted couple for the functions in which they were engaged. Ferdinand contributed the caution, Isabella the liberal qualities necessary to govern the country over which they ruled. Isabella was ready to pawn her jewels for a worthy cause, if funds could not otherwise be secured. Ferdinand would be sure to enquire whether the venture was likely to pay expenses and a profit. Isabella alone would have wrecked the treasury with a glorious disregard of financial results. Ferdinand would have conducted the royal business by strict rules of arithmetic, unrelieved by generous diversions or sentimental deflections, even if these were calculated to secure popular applause and sympathy. He would never go to war for an idea, unless the expulsion of the Moors be deemed such a one ; but there was, even in that attempt to drive out the unbeliever, a practical side. In their dealing with Columbus, the dual nature of the royal association was manifested. Isabella was anxious to plunge into the adventure, without reference to the terms proposed by Columbus ; Ferdinand declined to invest his money except upon such conditions as would make the risk a reasonable one. It must be admitted here that the settlement of the bargain, for such it was, involved no deception or undue advantage on either side. Columbus was quite equal to the occasion, and quite a match for his kingly patron. He was bent on carrying the faith to the Infidel, of bringing unnumbered heathen wretches within the pale of the Church ; he was eager to push the glory of the Empire of Spain to the remotest ends of the earth. This was the argument *ad hominem*, or rather *ad fœminam*, with which he mastered the enthusiastic and pious temperament of Isabella ; but Ferdinand was made of harder and more practical material. No doubt his feelings toward his unknown brethren of the remote West were kind enough,

but then these people were far away and mysterious, and it was not possible to say in advance how lovable or valuable they would turn out to be. Then the greatness of Spain and her glory, though dear to the King of Aragon, were expensive luxuries to sustain and required a surplus in the treasury ; glory and a deficit were incompatible and inconsistent adjuncts to his crown. But when Columbus told him of the treasures that he might secure while he saved the soul of the heathen, and put his finger, as it were, on Solomon's Mines, while he extended the Castilian Empire, Ferdinand's desire for profit was quickened into something like sympathy. The parties of the first part and of the second part being agreed as to the expediency of entering into the operation, the party of the third part stated his terms. They indicated in clear language the determination of the explorer to realize a full share of the financial benefits likely to accrue from the union of the capital to be contributed by his associates and the labor to be contributed by himself. He did not betray any undue modesty in the statement of his expectations. He required the title and privileges of an Admiral, the powers and prerogatives of a Viceroy, and ten per cent. in perpetuity of the income to be derived from the new possessions, this income to be paid to him and his heirs forever.

These conditions startled the King, who refused to accept them. The titles, no doubt, were well enough, and he might consent to ennoble the successful adventurer and his remotest posterity with lavish profusion, provided the commission on the possible revenues were reduced to a reasonable percentage. But ten per cent. forever ! The royal conscience rebelled at such demands ; they far exceeded the limits which any subject had a right to touch in negotiating with his sovereign. The King was firm and Columbus obstinate. Isabella was indifferent to the business aspect of the affair. Her motives were of a higher order, and to carry them out she was willing to subscribe to any terms that her intended associate saw fit to exact. Her consort was strong enough for the time being, however, to carry the day, and Columbus, firmly rooted in the commercial instincts of his

Genoese ancestors—if they were Genoese—once more turned his back on the Court and once more sought the society and counsel of his old friend and helper, the monk of La Rabida.

But once more, as in the past, the ready hand and heart of Juan Perez did their work, and Columbus, with renewed courage and hope, started to interest the French monarch in his plans. Would the latter have been more generous than his brother King? Would he have added the percentage in cash to the payment in honors and heritable titles? That question cannot be solved. The influence of the good Queen prevailed, the King relented and signified his assent to the demands which he had thus far rejected. What influenced him to this change of spirit we may only conjecture. Perhaps it was a natural inclination to please his gentle wife; perhaps the fear that in striving to save ten per cent. he might lose ninety; perhaps he knew (and he remembered in after days) that agreements between King and subject are always open to Royal revision and may be read in the right spirit, that is, as the Royal pleasure may suggest. Like the Lion in the fable, the share of the Monarch is what he chooses to claim: "I take this," says the Lion, "*quia nominor Leo*, because my name is Lion"—an unanswerable argument, from time immemorial.

Even at this stage of the proceedings the current did not flow smoothly. The money, although promised, shrank timidly from the risks which it was to run. Isabella had threatened to pawn her jewels, but this sacrifice was not exacted from her. The brothers Pinzon had become interested through Juan Perez in the proposed trip to an unknown world, and, thanks to them, the paltry sum was found which made the voyage practicable. By virtue of a slight modification in the agreement, Columbus was to furnish one-eighth of the funds, but this he was able to do through his new friends. The contract, when finally reduced to writing, was executed on the 17th of April, 1492; it was really the contract of Isabella of Castile, though signed by both monarchs; *her* subjects alone were permitted to settle in the new country so long as she lived.

Columbus was not compelled to wait until success had placed the seal on his work to receive some of his reward. His name was changed from Columbus to Colon ; he was graciously permitted to use the prefix *Don*, and his son was allowed to serve as a page to the Queen, a privilege which gave him access to the society of young people whose blood was blue. Thus, to some extent at least, was he paid in advance. Ferdinand was a munificent king in the distribution of all those rewards the giving of which in no wise diminished the supply at his command.

When Columbus went back to the small monastery and to the faithful friend who loved him still, the good prior rejoiced as though the victory were his and he were to receive large profits and brilliant titles. He lent a willing hand to the preparations for the great voyage ; he helped to smooth over the countless impediments that still grew, like rank weeds, in the discoverer's path. Three poor caravels had been found, the Santa Maria, the Niña and the Pinta ; they had been made, thanks to the Pinzon advances, fairly seaworthy, but when the time came to man them, the old terror and superstition threatened destruction to everything. Men would not embark on the ill-fated ships, rigged with curses dark as those that brought young Lycidas to grief. Sailors were plenty enough and daring enough, but they all wanted to return from any voyage on which they started, and how were they ever to get back to their own world after they had dropped into infinite ether, or sailed rapidly down the liquid hill? This difficulty, too, was vanquished. The scum of the seafaring population of the country was forced into the ships, and with a motley crew of bankrupts fleeing from their creditors, of criminals fleeing from justice, and of adventurers eager to feast their eyes upon and to fill their hands with the promised gold, the three ships sailed.

They left Palos on Friday, the third day of August, 1492, the good prior watching from the shore to the last, and praying for the friend he had served so well. Then commenced the weary journey, with its dangers and its doubts. A sullen crew, animated by sordid motives, and ever ready

to visit disappointment on its master, mutiny in a chronic state, and a strong, brave chief, as well fitted to cope with the rebellion of men as he was able to meet the hostile fury of the waves. Of him, indeed, it might be said, that his heart was cased in oak and triple brass, as the poet describes the fearless man who first entrusted his life, in a frail bark, to the cruel sea. From the first day to the last he was undaunted. His assurance of ultimate success was such that the belief grows upon us when we contemplate it, that he *knew* that the land lay before him, and approximately calculated the distance that he would have to sail. That he was wrong, in one respect, no one doubts ; he expected to find the continent of Asia, and found America blocking his way. But his confidence can only be explained on the theory that he had mastered the facts and was serene in consequence of the assurance they gave. As to his discontented and mutinous followers, he dealt with them as men of his stamp alone can deal. He awed them by his majestic bearing ; he encouraged them by his unfailing confidence ; he drew upon his vivid imagination to depict in glowing words the incalculable wealth of the new countries they were about to reach. He used the only argument potential with them. They wanted gold, gold in abundance, without stint, without labor, without hindrance ; he promised that they should have it to their heart's desire. With these promises and some deception as to the course that they were daily running, he succeeded in keeping them from open violence, until they entered upon the pleasant waters of the South and met unmistakable evidences that they were nearing land. Carved woods, branches of fresh flowers, the limb of a tree, which bore upon its fragile structure a bird's nest, with the mother bird guarding her young covey—these and other signs left no doubt in reasonable minds that the land was at hand. The balmy sweetness of the air was like their own Andalusian spring-time ; they only lacked the nightingale, said Columbus. But a new panic seized upon the men as confidence was beginning to overcome unreasoning fear. The wind died out, and days passed with nothing to relieve the anxious monotony that suggested danger in a

new form. What if this were a region of endless calm and they were fated to die one by one in their motionless ships, the victim of one man's folly and reckless ambition? He, at least, was a scape-goat, and might be offered up as a sacrifice or be punished for his crime. But he waited and compelled their patience until the sluggish winds once more filled their sails, and once more the men forgot to compass their leader's death, in the hope that they would reach land and fortune together.

Who first sighted that land is yet a question. Columbus, whether he felt himself unable further to resist the threats and importunities of his crew, or because he had calculated to his own satisfaction that he was about to reach his goal, solemnly promised that he would turn back and sail homeward if land were not seen within three days. The mutineers consented to this delay, and their murmurs were quieted for a while. On the second day the signs were so favorable that the seditious sailors fell upon their knees; they besought their leader for pardon, and sang hymns of praise to the kindness of the Creator who had brought them so near the end of their labors and dangers. A reward had been promised to the man who would first sight the land. As Columbus, sleepless and vigilant, was pacing the deck of the Santa Maria, he saw, or thought he saw, a light; but previous disappointments had made him wary. He called the attention of two of his fellow-watchers to the light that rose and fell; one of them saw it, or thought he saw it, but fearing a new disappointment, they all remained silent. In the early morning, however, the Pinta's cannon announced and truly that land was in view; this was the concerted signal by which the joyful news might be loudly proclaimed to all.

And now we have the culminating point of the great explorer's life. His triumph was without alloy. It was even greater in appearance than in fact. He believed that he had at last found the land of promise and of untold wealth, and as he left his ship and stepped ashore, clad in purple and bearing the insignia of his newly-won honors, he might well exult in the fulfillment of his prophecies and the realization of his dreams. He was now entitled, under his contract, to

the rewards which he coveted ; he might now bring the simple and harmless men, women and children who met him on the shore within the fold of the Church. No misgivings entered his mind. The island on which he first set his foot must be at the very door of the Indies, and with becoming reverence he baptized it in the Saviour's name, San Salvador.

Then commenced a series of adventures in Dreamland by daylight ; at least such it must have seemed to the travelers. The loveliness of the skies, the gentleness of the inhabitants, the songs of the birds; the pure and balmy atmosphere—above all, the confident hope of forthcoming gold—were indeed such as to fill their hearts with joy, and almost to justify the belief that the Earthly Paradise had been found. If that hope could only be realized, their happiness would be complete ; for we cannot close our eyes to the fact that whatever Columbus personally may have felt, the gentle heathen and his salvation were the accessory and not the principal subject of the general solicitude. The feverish anxiety to secure the yellow metal of which the trinkets were made that adorned the persons of the inhabitants, the numerous inquiries as to the source whence that metal had been procured, the interest exhibited for its acquisition, could not but impress the astonished native, who believed that Gold was the God of his new visitors. Columbus himself allowed his great and noble purposes to be deferred to satisfying the greed of his crew, and with earnest appeals to the Almighty, he prayed for instructions that might lead him to fortune. "Our Lord, in whose hands are all things, be my help," he cries. "Our Lord, in His mercy, direct me where I may find the gold mine." They wandered from island to island—kidnapping a dozen or two of the natives who had never been taught resistance, greed or cruelty—in quest of the undiscovered treasures. Every point that he touched was, according to Columbus' narrative, more beautiful than all the rest ; in fact, he indulges in such wild and extravagant expressions of delight, that a suspicion is raised (as Prescott has it) that a temporary alienation of mind is shown in the letters which he wrote from Jamaica to the

sovereigns. "Sober narrative and sound reasoning were strangely blended with crazy dreams and doleful lamentations. Vagaries like these," adds Prescott, "which came occasionally like clouds over his soul to shut out the light of reason, cannot fail to fill the mind of the reader, as they doubtless did those of the sovereigns, with mingled sentiments of wonder and compassion." Our lamented friend, Dr. Gilmary Shea, has pointed out in his work on Columbus, that "he seems to have succeeded in attaching to himself but few men who adhered loyally to his cause. Those under him were constantly rebellious and mutinous; those over him found him impracticable. To arraign all these enemies, as inspired by a Satanic hostility to a great servant of God, is to ask too much of our belief."

It would extend this paper far beyond any reasonable limit if I sought to enter into anything more than a rapid and cursory narrative of the four voyages that Columbus made to America and thence back to Spain.

The first was the only one which gave him unmixed glory and happiness. He then touched the pinnacle of his fame, and the descent after that to ruin and disgrace was as distressing as it was rapid. Up to the moment of his death he believed that when he set his foot on the soil of Cuba he stood on the Continent of Asia. With that delusion firm and fixed, he died. At least we may assume that it was really entertained by him, although the dramatic conditions that accompanied his first declaration of the fact might shake our belief in his good faith. One of his first acts on taking possession of the island was to impose an oath upon his men, making them declare that they had reached the coast of Asia. Such an exaction seems hardly consistent with entire sanity.

Perhaps nothing can give a better idea of the effect produced by these strange sights upon so strong an intellect as that of Columbus than the fact he was quite assured that he had seen mermaids in these southern waters. The prosaic explanation given is that they were probably sea calves, and that their heads, when slightly lifted above the water, bore a general resemblance to the human face. The truth is

that everything around him was new and mysterious ; there was no difficulty in believing that such romantic persons lived in the sea.

Columbus received a right royal reception on his return. Both sovereigns rose to receive him standing ; and when he stooped to kiss their hands, they gently and graciously lifted him and bade him sit. Then he told his story, and from time to time produced the evidences of his veracity. He showed the Indians that he had captured, the birds, the skins, the barbaric ornaments and the samples of gold which he had brought with him, and when the *Te Deum* had been chanted, he was treated as a royal guest and assigned lodgings under the royal roof. This period of a few weeks was really the only time of unalloyed happiness that Columbus ever enjoyed. He was not averse to public scenes nor disposed to shrink from the plaudits of an admiring multitude ; when he passed among the excited throngs his face beamed with content. There was no trouble then to find volunteers for another transatlantic voyage ; the specimens of hard and yellow gold were more eloquent than any discourse that had ever been spoken by Columbus. The curb became more necessary than the spur when the new expedition was fitted out. Capital had lost its shrinking and sensitive modesty, in view of assured success. All the ships in the ports of Andalusia were placed at Columbus' disposal, and he was authorized to compel service from those whom he chose to carry with him on his expedition. Military stores were abundantly provided ; able and intelligent supervisors aided him ; among these we find the name of Americus Vespucius.

The conversion of the heathens to Christianity was formally declared to be one of the most important objects of the enterprise. The King and Queen showed their good faith by designating twelve learned priests to accompany the expedition ; one of them was the apostolical vicar. Isabella's kind heart had been moved by the accounts of the gentleness and simplicity of the natives to consider them with tender compassion, and to her credit be it said that she strictly enjoined that they should be treated with the utmost

kindness. Columbus was ordered to inflict signal punishment on all Spaniards who should be guilty of outrage and injustice toward them.

About fifteen hundred men started upon the second expedition. They carried with them goats, sheep, cows and domestic fowls. Once more the fleet entered the beautiful regions of the South. Porto Rico and other islands were visited and taken possession of in the name of Spain. The adventurers met the Caribs, who were said by Columbus to be very fierce and given to eating human flesh. Whether it be true that these barbarous people were actually addicted to such revolting practices may well be doubted. Even Mr. Irving, one of the most earnest defenders of Columbus' fame, ventures to question the reliability of these statements. There is but little to support and much to contradict the charge. Hayti was reached and visited for the second time. The natives had heard of Columbus on his first voyage and still entertained a friendly disposition toward him. They came on board the ship without hesitation or fear. The Admiral had left behind him a colony of men on the former trip, and the fortress that he had built was found and visited ; nothing remained except vestiges of ruin to show where it had stood. It had been sacked, burned and utterly destroyed. The story was soon told, and there is no reason to doubt its substantial truth. While Columbus was present he was able to exercise some restraint upon the fierce passions of his men, but no sooner had his ship disappeared in the distance than the new colonists abandoned themselves to all their brutal instincts. They wandered uncontrolled among the Indians ; they robbed them of their gold, of their homes, of everything that was sacred in their domestic relations. If the Indians did suppose, as has been said, that the white men had come down from heaven to visit them, that illusion was soon dispelled in the wild debauch of unmerciful brutality. Even after these four centuries, it is pleasant to draw a veil upon that scene and many others that accompanied the first settlement of America.

We may turn with comfort from this picture and con-

template the good and holy men, members of the same old faith, who were among the first to explore the wilderness of America for the heathen's sake ; the noble martyrs who with the staff and cross, with no hope of reward except the saving of souls, hungry, worn, persecuted and tortured, walked, alone and unguarded, the wilderness of the lake country, pushed their way to the Father of Rivers, preached the gospel to the savage whom they startled by their audacity, shed no blood but their own, permitted no torture but of their own bodies, pitied all men except themselves, and thought every danger and torment a gain if it promised honor and glory to their God. If we feel at any time disposed unduly to honor Columbus the Catholic, let us evoke the picture of the Jesuit pioneers of the country that he discovered. The testimony of these martyrs will silence History if she exalts him beyond his merits.

The third voyage was another step on the downward plane. The machinations of unrelenting enemies produced their bitter fruit. But for the faithful brothers Bartholomew and Diego, it is not likely that Columbus would have survived to see his home once more. The era of bloodshed had been opened ; so-called battles had been fought, and the natives, by thousands upon thousands, were destroyed. Resistance to the steel-clad horsemen was out of the question. We need not wonder that the stranger, with two hundred infantry and twenty horsemen, flanked by twenty bloodhounds as fierce as tigers, were able to meet and conquer one hundred thousand men, nor that the victory of the Spaniards was complete, and that the natives were crushed beyond hope of redemption !

It is pleasing, again, to turn to Isabella, who continued to regard these gentle and unoffending natives as intrusted by God to her peculiar protection. Her disinterested love was not turned into avarice, even by a cargo of five hundred slaves that were sent her. An order was issued for their sale, but she countermanded it, and directed that the captives should be returned to their own land. Again she sent a special order that the natives should be treated with the utmost kindness. But great wrongs had been per-

petrated before this ineffectual evidence of a loving heart reached its destination.

Meanwhile public sentiment was changing as to the value of the discovery. The ship-loads of gold had not come in; a few cargoes of slaves were but a small realization of the brilliant expectations that had charmed the imagination of sovereigns and subjects. Men had come back from these transatlantic voyages worn, disabled, broken in health and spirit. Extreme measures were again necessary to secure crews. Convicted malefactors were offered pardon if they would embark for the colonies. The enthusiasm had died out; discouragement and distress had set in; the star of Columbus had grown pale, it was soon to emit its last fitful gleam of intermittent light.

It was on this third voyage that Columbus, for the first time, had a glimpse of the Continent which was to be called America. But Sebastian Cabot the year before had already discovered the continent; so had Americus Vespucius. The trip was one of great suffering and disappointment. To the mental distress which well-nigh overwhelmed him were added the tortures of gout and failing sight; still he did not surrender to changing fortune, and with unshaken fortitude he revisited the scenes of his first discoveries and touched from time to time at new islands.

While Columbus was absent on his unpromising, ill-omened voyage, the clamors against him swelled into a chorus loud enough to reach the Court. Complaints were many, some of them perhaps not without foundation. One of his chief lieutenants rebelled and entered into open conflict with him. In an unguarded moment, Columbus requested that an umpire might be sent out to decide the question. This was the signal for his downfall. Ferdinand sent out an umpire in the person of Bobadilla, and the result was that Columbus returned home in chains.

The Queen greeted her old friend with tears, while he, moved by her compassion and sympathy, fell upon his knees, weeping convulsively. He was old and worn and broken physically; nothing but his lofty spirit had stood the cruel

tests to which he had been subjected. The accusations made by Bobadilla were disregarded. Favor and affection were once more lavished upon Columbus, and abundant promises made, which were never kept. If the account of Las Casas be true of the condition of the natives under Bobadilla, the estate of those unfortunate people was made worse by the change of masters.

And now preparations were made for a fourth voyage. Other courts had been gained by the contagion and inoculated with the ambition of great adventures. Da Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and was enriching Portugal with the products of the East. Columbus was to start in quest of a strait, supposed to be somewhere near the Isthmus of Darien and connecting the two great oceans. After many delays, the fleet of four vessels was ready to sail. The largest of the caravels was but seventy tons burden and his whole company amounted to one hundred and fifty men. He turned his back for the last time upon Spain, an old man, exhausted with anxiety and trouble, and racked with physical sickness. Time and adversity had subdued all but the unconquerable will, and once more his faithful brother Bartholomew accompanied him to guard, protect and defend him.

Columbus now visited Honduras and Costa Rica. He explored bays on the Isthmus of Panama, and found evidence that gold in large quantities was to be had in these regions, but his shattered health paralyzed all physical exertion, while his leaking ships warned him that he should hasten to return. He attempted to establish a colony on the river Belden, where he intended to leave his brother in command while he returned to Spain for supplies.

The fourth voyage ended almost in total disaster. It was full of disappointment and suffering. Cyclones, insurrections, hunger and the fear of starvation caused Columbus the deepest anxiety. His ships could not be repaired, nor could he build new ones. The situation at Jamaica became so critical that Columbus was constrained to send one of his followers to Hispaniola, in a canoe, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, to procure relief, for destruction

waited upon inaction. They dared not start upon their return with their decayed and broken ships; the dreary weeks ran into months, every day bringing its new weight of woe to the desperate situation. Mutiny was added to the other elements of dissolution. Finally, the Indians could no longer be forced to bring food from a distance, and continued to resist until Columbus, working upon their superstitious fears, called them together and predicted a total eclipse of the moon, a sign, he declared, of the Divine wrath, which would soon be directed against the disobedient natives if they did not at once procure supplies. The eclipse came, and the terrified Indians, in trembling submission, helped their persecutors to live.

Finally, after new mutinies and a pitched battle between contending factions of angry Spaniards, Columbus left the new world to return to Spain. He reached his country a weak and tottering old man. His faithful friend, the Queen, was herself upon her death-bed; no greeting from her, as formerly, warmed the drooping spirits of the Admiral. He found his financial affairs in the utmost confusion. His great expectations of brilliant rewards had never borne fruit. Poor as he was when he left Spain in August 1492, he was actually poorer when he returned home to die. The royal contract which he had been at such pains to secure, gave him no rights that he could enforce. Ferdinand's conscience was no longer quickened, his generosity no longer stimulated by the presence and kindness of his Queen. The pressure upon his treasury was great, and the relief which he had expected from the promises of Columbus had never come. Gold from America he had seen, but only in such quantities as to sharpen desire, not to satisfy greed. He could not read the future, and he did not, therefore, know that royal revenues were to flow into the coffers of his successors, not so much from the gold mines that time would uncover as from the marvelous tobacco plant that Columbus had found in Cuba. He may have felt that the exactions which he had been coerced to accept when the agreement was made, had been imposed upon him by a sort of duress. At all events, he

turned a deaf ear to the supplications of his one-time associate, and postponed the manifestation of his gratitude until Columbus was beyond the reach either of his favor or his anger. The discoverer was not suffering alone from cruel disease, but for lack of the actual necessaries of life. "I live by borrowing," he said; "little have I profited by twenty years' service, with such toils and perils, since at present I do not own a roof in Spain, and for the most time I have not the wherewithal to pay my bill." This came from a man who had actually sat in the presence of royalty, and who had been decorated with the titles of Don, of Admiral, and of Viceroy! These poor honors were all he had to leave his children. He earnestly besought the king to appoint his son Diego to the viceroyalty, of which he had been so cruelly deprived. "This," he wrote, "is a matter which concerns my honor. Give or withhold, as may be most for your interest, and I shall be content. I believe the anxiety created by the delay of this affair is the principal cause of my sickness." But in spite of this care for earthly honors, distinction and titles for himself and those that were to follow him, his thoughts were turned to greater things. Be his weaknesses what they may, an ardent love for the Church had been a conspicuous feature in his life, in his thoughts, and in his acts. The sense of responsibility for all that he had done was before him to the end, lightened and brightened by a confident hope, frequently expressed, that his shortcomings would be mercifully condoned. His mind turned with pathetic affection to the small town of Concepcion, in Hispaniola, which he himself had founded, and there, on the new land, which could never be mentioned except in connection with his own fame, he desired that a chapel should be raised, where Divine service should be celebrated for his benefit and that of all whom he loved.

Death did not take him unawares or unprovided; he saw its approach without dismay. Indeed, in his straitened and distressed condition, Death was the only friend upon whose face he could look with anything like hope. Life had and could have nothing in store for him but sickness and

heavier sorrow. His fortunes were broken, his glory on the wane, his family poor, his body racked by pain. What wonder that he should have longed for the hour of departure? When the message came, he welcomed it with joy. His last words were uttered in Latin: "*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*," "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."

Then being dead and no longer an obstruction in the royal path, or an unpleasant reminder to the royal conscience, royalty once more smiled upon him. A gorgeous funeral atoned, so far as it could, for neglect and injustice. Great honors followed his corpse to the church of Santa Maria de la Antigua. His enemies were silenced and comforted by the reflection that he could no longer interfere with their fortunes. The King was relieved and promptly placed a glorious seal upon the greatest episode of his reign. He was able to balance, by posthumous and inexpensive tributes, the open account pending between himself and his late partner. Isabella gone and Columbus in his grave, the only one of the firm then left was Ferdinand. He could wind up the business to suit himself.

But the remains of Columbus were not permitted to rest in Spain. Once more, but this time in unaccustomed peace, he crossed the Atlantic to find a resting place. It is said that his body still sleeps in the Cathedral of Havana, on that island which he had solemnly declared to be part of the continent of Asia. The claim of Havana to this honor is disputed, but the evidence seems to be conclusive, and we may state with something like certainty that the great Discoverer is now resting in the Cathedral of that city.

Columbus, like all conspicuous actors in the history of the world, has had his critics and his panegyrists. Some have gone to the verge of extreme laudation, and others have condemned him with unsparing severity. History will side with neither of these extremists. We may fairly judge him by what he did and what he failed to do. There is no recorded instance of more admirable tenacity of purpose nor of more unflinching devotion to one single idea; none of courage more steadfast in the face of

perils of every kind. But if we should measure him by the standard of to-day, nothing that his modern accusers have said in condemnation of many acts alleged against him would be too severe; but the standard of to-day may not with justice be applied to the man who lived four centuries ago.

The accusation against Columbus is the traffic of slaves, but this had been and continued to be the practice of every nation for centuries after him, and of our own country almost to our own generation. It may only be said, and this means much, that he was better than the men who were with him. We may not compare him to the venerable and humane Las Casas, but his name, when placed beside those of others who shared or marred his fortunes, will shine with a lustre rendered brilliant by comparison. It is much to say of any man that he was better than his day. This can be asserted of Columbus. Personally, he appears to have been, in the ordinary relations of life, humane and just ; his pursuit of gold was certainly, in a great degree, the result of his anxiety to satisfy the King. Gold he had promised ; gold he was bound to furnish, and it was the failure to perform this promise that poisoned his life, cost him his popularity and hastened his death.

Although the real merit to be attached to his discovery is subject to question because he started to reach Asia and stumbled upon America, yet he is entitled to our gratitude for the splendid service which he rendered, and to be placed on the roll of humanity's great servants. The obstacles in his way would have daunted any man not of heroic mould. If he showed an indifference to human life in dealing with the natives, we may not forget that life was cheap in the fifteenth century. Tenderness and hesitancy to shed a brother's blood were not in the morals and practices of the times ; indeed they are not now, when Nations undertake for their own purposes to impress their civilization on an inferior people. That one of the motives which impelled and sustained him throughout was the desire to spread the Gospel through new lands can scarcely be dis-

puted. Whether, after weighing these motives in the scales of infallible and eternal Justice, it will be found that this was in truth the mainspring of his action and the pure fountain of his unflinching purpose, or merely incident to a personal end, none can decide. I prefer to accept and to close with the wise and prudent words of the Sovereign Pontiff :

"The eminently distinctive point in Columbus is that in crossing the immense expanses of the ocean, he followed an object more grand and more elevated than did the others. Not that he failed to be influenced by the very legitimate ambition to earn and to merit the approval of society, not that he despised the attributes of glory, that concomitant of success, whose spurs often cut more deeply those greatest among men, nor did he disdain entirely the pursuit of personal advantages; but above all those human considerations soared the leading motive in the religion of his forefathers.

"Where, indeed, would he have supplied himself with the necessary constancy and strength of soul to endure what he had to suffer and submit to, had he not drawn upon a motive superior to human interests? Contradicted by the learned ; repulsed by princes ; tossed by the tempest on the furious ocean ; more than once deprived of the use of his eyes by the strain of the long and weary watches ; to these must be added the combats sustained against the barbarians ; the infidelities of his friends and his companions ; the villainous plots and conspiracies ; the perfidy of the envious ; the calumnies of the traducers, and the traps set against his innocence—this man must inevitably have succumbed under the weight of such great trials, and such numerous assaults, had he not been upheld by the conscience of his admirable enterprise, in the success of which he foresaw the greater glory of the Christian name, and the salvation of an endless multitude."

THE DOMINICAN PAPER.

ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC.

From the recumbent statue upon the stately mausoleum in the cathedral church of Granada.

After an eventful reign of thirty years, during which she had personally taken an heroic part in the war for the deliverance of the kingdom from the Moors; defended the borders of Spain from foreign enemies; quelled internal revolts and seditions; introduced reforms of every kind in the state; made her court a nursery of virtue and generous ambition; extended to Columbus the aid and encouragement which has linked her name with his forever, and remained his steadfast friend while life lasted, she expired of a lingering malady on November 26, 1504, in the fifty-fourth year of her age. The engraving is from Gavard's Galeries Historiques de Versailles. Paris, 1843.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

AND

THE DOMINICAN DIEGO DE DEZA.

THE part of the Order of St. Dominic, in the series of events relative to the discovery of America, was not to have its term in mere intellectual collaboration. It had its great doctors, and fruitful was the action of their genius. They had largely ripened the scientific ideas which were carried through to the grand achievement of the end of the fifteenth century. But that was not enough. Some minds do not always see how remarkably near events often are to the ideas which begot them ; these may find the preoccupations of Christopher Columbus but remotely dependent on the cosmographical science of B. Albert the Great and of St. Thomas Aquinas. But, in the order of facts, it was again, and certainly, a Friar Preacher who was to have the glory of being the most constant and staunch supporter of the discoverer of the New World.

Diego de Deza, the Dominican, was the great protector of Christopher Columbus. No other patronage is comparable to his, either as to duration or as to importance. It extended over a period of twenty years, from the arrival of Columbus in Spain down to the time of his death ; and its character was such as to bring about a practical realization of the celebrated navigator's projects. By singular good fortune there is in existence the authentic formula, subscribed by the illustrious protégé's own hand, of his grateful recognition to Diego de Deza.

Historical vulgarizations, ever prone to feed on the amplified and imaginary, although they have not quite ignored Deza, have yet so relegated him to the background that it

would be flagrant injustice, if productions of the kind had any serious claims to the attention of science. On another hand, no historian has yet undertaken to present a full view of Deza's influence and action during those two obscure periods of the life of Columbus—that which preceded and that which followed the discovery of America.*

It is therefore our design clearly and precisely to point out the rôle of the celebrated Dominican as protector of Columbus to show the characteristic traits of his patronage, and to offer some critical observations touching certain presumed protectors whose titles are open to the charge of suspicious appearance.

As we have already intimated, the chief and fundamental authority upon which the historic rights of Deza rest is in every way incontestable. It is no other than the written testimony of Christopher Columbus himself. In that penury of contemporary documents capable of precisely determining the numerous points of the history of the discoverer of the New World, it is evident how valuable are the positive data, such as those furnished by the Admiral's own letters and writings. This remark is of yet further range, if it is taken into account that the Admiral of the Indies, in the report of one of his voyages, does not permit himself to recognize more than two protectors, who, he says, are both monks. Finally, even after the critical labors of M. Harrisse on the histories of Christopher Columbus, attributed to the Admiral's son, Ferdinand, it yet remains the historian's charge to revise numerous affirmations introduced by that forger's work; above all, when one sees the lamentable influence wrought by his statement of the case upon even the writers who, like Las Casas, are held to be the fathers of the New World's history.

Everybody knows the dragging difficulties and the rebuffs that Columbus met with, when, towards the year 1485, he presented his schemes of discovery and the offer of his services to their Catholic majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella. A detailed history of the Genoese navigator's struggles against

* Readers of the *Rosary Magazine*, June and July, 1892, undoubtedly appreciated the excellent articles on Columbus and Deza by Mr. John A. Mooney, LL.D., the scholarly and learned American writer, of whose services in the cause of Columbus we take pleasure in recording our grateful recognition.

ill fortune during some six years is difficult, or rather say impossible, securely to be drawn up in the face of the contradictory data which history, in its actual state, offers to the historian.

Happily, Deza's rôle is well characterized and independent of all collateral questions.

No sooner does Christopher Columbus set foot on the territory of the sovereigns of Castille, than he finds a friend who meets him with favor and upholds him. It is the protector of the first day. Columbus assures us it is so. On his return from his fourth voyage he writes to his son, Diego, and recommends him to rely upon Deza (who had become Bishop of Palencia) to look after his affairs at Court. As if to show what kind of reception and what assistance the son of the Admiral of the Indies would receive at his hands, Columbus adds: "The Lord Bishop of Palencia, ever since I came to Castille, has always favored me and desired my honor"—"El Sr. Obispo de Palencia, siempre desde que yo vine á Castilla, me ha favorecido y deseado mi honra."*

It was twenty years since Columbus had first come into Castille, and it will readily be understood how much that word *siempre* means, written, as it was, only a few months before the illustrious navigator's death. It is a warranted assurance of Deza's most constant fidelity, vouchsafed him by the Admiral for his faithful patronage and protection.

Just where and when did Columbus and Deza first meet? It is probable that history will never know. We should like to have seen those two together, face to face—the poor Genoese genius, who was animated by a great and grand idea, and the first professor of Salamanca; to hear them discuss those ideas which were soon to revolutionize the whole world. Deza, issued from a noble family of Toro, had entered the Dominican order young. He had studied at Salamanca, and at the time of his meeting Columbus had just quitted the first chair of the university. The merits and reputation of the celebrated master had, at the time, won for him the confidence of the Catholic sovereigns, and he was appointed

* M. Fernandez de Navarrete, *Coleccion de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles*, Madrid, 1825, t. i. p. 334.

preceptor to the heir of the throne, the young Infante Don Juan.*

Did the relations between Columbus and Deza precede the latter's elevation to the office of the royal preceptorship, when he was as yet only the titular of the first chair at Salamanca? We are inclined to believe so, however difficult it may be to determine it vigorously. Deza was nominated preceptor towards 1486,† perhaps later, but not sooner, for the Infante was but eight years of age at the time. On another hand, there is some uncertainty as to the precise time of Columbus' arrival in Spain. According to M. Harrisse, he came directly from Portugal, between the fall of 1484 and the month of January, 1486,‡ but the common tendency is to assign a date somewhat later than this last. The presumptions, then, go to put the arrival of Columbus later and the nomination of Deza earlier, so that, in all probability, they met before Deza had finished his professorial career, since he had always favored Columbus and desired his honor ever since the latter's coming into Castille.§

Whatever may have been Deza's position when he first met Columbus, whether it was at the University of Salamanca or at the Court of the Sovereigns of Spain, the reception the Dominican friar extended to the Genoese mariner remains an indisputable fact. Fellowship of ideas had already been established between them regarding the existence of the antipodes and the possibility of reaching the Indies by navigation towards

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* On Deza, see Echard, *Scriptores O. P.*, Paris, 1721, t. i. p. 51; also A. Touron, *Histoire des Hommes Illustres de l'ordre de St. Dominique*, Paris, 1746, t. iii. pp. 722-742; and an excellent biographical notice by Hundhausen in the *Kirchenlexicon*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1884, t. iii. pp. 1657-1660.

† Echard, *loc. cit.* p. 51.

‡ *Christophe Colomb, son origine, sa vie, ses voyages, sa famille et ses descendants*, Paris, 1884, 2 vols., t. i. p. 354.

§ M. Harrisse, led into error by Echard, thought that Deza was nominated to the Bishopric of Zamora at the same time as to the preceptorship of the Prince Don Juan, and he wrote: "Ce savant ecclesiastique (Deza) ne connut pas Colomb lorsqu'il ne fut que simple fraile" (*loc. cit.* i. 371). Just the contrary is true. Deza was nominated Bishop of Zamora, April 14, 1494. The Bulls may be found in the *Bullarium Ord. Præd.*, t. iv. p. 197. Hence it follows that before the discovery of America, Columbus knew Deza only as a simple *fraile*.

the West. At the end of the fifteenth century Deza was one of the most authoritative masters of the Dominican school, with Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas, the master minds of the order, and the theories upon which Columbus based his projects had already come to be taught and generally accepted throughout the order's schools.* It is, moreover, the disposition of great minds and great souls readily to understand each other, and that by reason of their common greatness.

Contemporary with the first relations of Columbus and Diego de Deza is the celebrated Junta of Salamanca. It is a Dominican writer who gives us the most circumstantial account of the conferences which Columbus had with the savants of this university. We quote the testimony itself of Antonio de Rémésal, O.P., in his *History of the Dominican Province of St. Vincent de Chiapa and Guatemala:* "When God had put into the heart of Columbus the design of passing into that part of the world which up to that time had remained unknown, he did not find welcome before certain kings, and he was treated as a chimerical man of little judgment. To win over the sovereigns of Castille, Ferdinand and Isabella, to his project, he came to Salamanca for the purpose of presenting his reasons to the masters in astrology and cosmography, who taught those matters at the university. He began by proposing his theories and arguments to them, but he found no attention or support except among the religious of St. Stephen's. The reason of this was that, at that time, not only the arts and theology were taught in that convent, but also all the other matters that were professed in the schools. It was at the convent that the reunions of the astrologers and mathematicians took place. Columbus proposed his conclusions and defended them. Thanks to the assistance of the religious, he won the first savants of the school over to his

* It may interest some readers to note the following places wherein St. Thomas speaks of the demonstration of the earth's sphericity: *Summa*, 1a. p., Q. 1, A. 1, ad 2m.; 1–2 p., Q. 54, A. 2, ad 2m.; 2 *Sent.*, d. 24, Q. 2, Art. 2, ad 5m.; *Phy.* 2, Lect. 3, in fine; *Poster.*, Lect. 41, in fine. We cite these as being perhaps the most readily at hand.

opinions. Among all, it was Friar Diego de Deza, Professor of the first chair and Master of the Prince Don Juan, who took it upon himself to accredit him and to favor him before the Catholic sovereigns. All the time that Columbus lived at Salamanca the convent gave him shelter and lodging and paid the expenses of his travels. Master Diego de Deza did the same at the Court. Moreover, on account of the largesses of this latter, and of the measures he took with the sovereigns to inspire them with faith in Columbus and to get them to come to his aid, he was regarded as the instrument of the discovery of the Indies. The Bishop of Chiapa, Don Bartholomew de Las Casas, relates all this at length in his 'General History of the Indies' (book 1, middle of chap. xxix.)." *

The reference of Rémésal to the History of Las Casas relates to the protection of Deza and not to the holding of the Junta at Salamanca, which was unknown to this historian.†

M. Harrisse, rendered distrustful in consequence of the grave errors introduced into the biographies of Columbus from the pseudo-histories ascribed to Don Fernando, has given a severely critical sifting to a great part of the data of the Columbian records. As may easily be conceived, the Salamanca Junta was not spared and had to present its titles.

What strikes M. Harrisse is the lateness of Rémésal's account, "posterior to the events by at least one hundred and twenty years." On another hand, he knows no one before him "who spoke either about the Junta at Salamanca or about the monks of St. Stephen's." ‡

The objection is formal and demands an examination. For the fact that early historians of America, like Oviedo and Las Casas, or the author of a local history like Gil Gonzales Davila, make no mention of a commission at

* *Historia de la Provincia de San Vincente de Chiapa y Guatemala, de la Orden de San Domingo*, Madrid, 1619, col. 52.

† Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Madrid, 1875-1876, 5 vols. t. i. p. 228.

‡ *Christophe Colomb*, etc., t. i. p. 358 and following.

Salamanca, we see no other plausible reason than that the Junta and Columbus' residence at Salamanca created little or no stir outside of that city. The event of the first hour was forgotten with the rise of the events otherwise grave and manifold, which came surging to notice with the discovery of the New World. One can understand that it was kept in remembrance in a great agglomeration such as was St. Stephen's, let alone other places, at least sufficiently to find one historian. As for Las Casas in particular, although he studied at Salamanca, yet it was after the holding of the commissions, and the young jurist, who had then no connection with the Order, may easily have been in ignorance of the conferences held by some savants ten years earlier.* Whatever may be the causes of his silence, the objection still remains; but since it is a purely negative argument which M. Harrisse proposes, it remains to be seen if there are no positive data to invalidate it.

That after the arrival of Columbus in Castille there was a meeting of scientific celebrities to examine the schemes of the Genoese mariner is a fact absolutely certain. M. Harrisse admits it and proves it by appeal to the deposition of Doctor Rodriguez de Maldonado, an eye-witness, present at the assembly. "In company," says he, "with him who was then Prior of Prado, and who subsequently became Archbishop of Granada, as well as with other savants, men of letters and mariners, we conferred with the Admiral on his project of going to the Isles; and we all fell in accord that it was impossible that what he said was true. Notwithstanding the opinion of the majority, the Admiral obstinately persisted in his project of undertaking the voyage. It is as one of the council of their Highnesses that I know all these things."† The Prior of Prado, of whom mention is here made, is Hernando de Talavera, a Jeronymite religious, who rose to high positions, and who, at the time of the commission, was simply Prior of

* Echard, *Scriptores O. P.*, t. ii. p. 192.

† Navarrete, *Coleccion*, t. iii. p. 589. It is not quite exact to translate, with M. Harrisse, "*con los más de ellos*" by "the majority." It should be rendered, "the chief, the most learned of the commission."

the Convent of Notre Dame of Prado, near Valladolid.* M. Harrisse, following Navarrete,† takes the positive fact that Talavera was Prior of Prado at the time of the commission to prove that "it was between 1486 and 1487, before the month of August of this latter year, that these commissions were held. For, after that date, Hernando de Talavera, having become bishop, must have left off bearing the title of Prior of Prado.‡ The continuation of Maldonado's deposition could have furnished M. Harrisse a second argument to prove that the junta took place not only before the month of August, 1487, but even before May 5th of the same year; for the witness adds that it was subsequent to this commission that their Highnesses caused certain sums of money to be paid to Columbus. But the first grant of the Catholic sovereigns was on May 5, 1487.§ Hence it is before this date and not much earlier—for the grant was a result of the holding of the commission—that we must put the first public discussion. So far, then, the fundamental fact of the existence of a junta, as affirmed by Rémésal, is settled beyond dispute. As to the character of the commission, Rémésal tells us that it was made up of astronomers, cosmographers, and mathematicians. Maldonado, on his part, fully confirms this. According to him, the commission was formed by savants, men of letters, and mariners. We do not therefore believe, we must say, with M. Harrisse, that "men of the Court

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* José de Siguenza, *Tercera parte de la Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo*, Madrid, 1605, t. iii. p. 387.

† *Coleccion*, t. iii. p. 416 and following.

‡ *Christophe Colomb*, t. i. p. 361. Even when he would have continued to bear the title, he was certainly no longer prior. But Maldonado says that, at the time of the commission, he was actually prior, which is sufficient for the force of the demonstration.

§ "E contra el parecer de los más de ellos porfió el dicho Almirante de ir el dicho viaje, é SS. AA. lo mandaron librar cierta cantidad de maravedis para ello, é asentaron ciertas capitulaciones con él; lo qual todo supo este testigo como uno de los del consejo de SS. AA."—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, t. iii. p. 589.

"En dicho dia (5 de Mayo de 1487) di á Cristóbal Colomo, extrangero, tres mil maravédis que está aqui faciendo algunas cosas complideras al servicio de sus Altezas."—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, t. ii. p. 4.

were consulted, and that a contradictory debate took place between them and Columbus." *

True, Maldonado assisted at the meeting as a member of the royal council, and perhaps others with him; but he also tells us that the commission was composed of savants, of men of letters, and of mariners, which puts us in the presence of an assemblage of clever men rather than of courtiers, and the assistance at the commission of a simple convent-prior like Talavera shows that it was sought to form a commission of examination, composed of men competent to study and expedite the affair.

But the consultors thus convened were most likely assembled at the same place where a reunion of learned men had already taken place, and it is known that the University of Salamanca was at that time the intellectual centre of the peninsula. We likewise see the Catholic sovereigns, several years later, applying to this university, making an appeal to its astronomers and cosmographers to resolve certain questions of navigation.†

The single fact, moreover, of the presence of the Prior of Prado excludes the probability that the junta was held in the south of Spain, for it is not very likely that a religious of the neighborhood of Valladolid would have been summoned to a council held at Seville, or, indeed, even at Toledo.

But what does away with all doubt is the presence of the Court itself at Salamanca during the winter of 1486–1487. "*L'Itinerario de Galindez de Carbajal*," writes M. Harrisse,‡ proves that the Catholic sovereigns ended the year 1486 and began that of 1487 at Salamanca.§

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* *Christophe Colomb*, t. i. p. 359.

† "Nos habemos menester algunas personas que supiesen é tuviesen experiencia de astrologia é cosmografia para que platicasen con otros que aqui estan sobre algunas cosas de la mar," etc.—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, t. iii. p. 489.

‡ *Christophe Colomb*, t. i. p. 362.

§ *Memorial ó Registro breve de los lugares donde el Rey y Reyna Catolicos, estuvieron cada año desde el MDCLXVIII.* MS. of the National Library at Paris, No. 6964—Collection Legrand, fol. 121, and printed in the collection Ribadeneyra, t. lxx.

On another hand, since, after May 5th, Columbus received a grant in consequence of the holding of the junta, and since, according to the testimony of the witness Maldonado, he treated with the sovereigns, the reunion cannot have taken place except at Salamanca, where Maldonado himself must have been in attendance at the Court as member of the council.* In this way we see that various data, different indeed, but very positive, confirm the testimony of Rémésal and guarantee its worth. M. Harrisse himself concludes that the first conference, that of the winter of 1486–1487, "was very probably held at Salamanca, after the return of the Court."† We do not believe that we go beyond the lines of prudent and legitimate criticism when we conclude, from the discussion just given, that the fact is morally certain.

We may add, and it is but just to do so, that the historical authority of Rémésal is itself of no inconsiderable weight. A precise, well-informed historian, having made many researches in the American archives, he is not at all given to legend or fiction. Sir Arthur Helps, who, in his American researches, often found that Rémésal had already gone over the same ground, was pleased to pay him a high encomium, besides turning his words to good account. "I do not feel at all disposed," he says, "to throw over the authority of Rémésal. He had access to the archives of Guatemala early in the seventeenth century, and he is one of those excellent writers, so dear to the student of history, who is not prone to declamation or rhetoric or picturesque writing, but indulges us largely by the introduction everywhere of most important historical documents copied boldly into the text."‡

A final doubt raised by the recital of Rémésal relates to the presence of Deza at the Salamanca Commission. We know of no authority other than that of this author directly confirming this fact. But although there is no record to assure us of it, still the conjuncture of circumstances and of

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* Maldonado belonged to Salamanca and was *rigidor* of the city.—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, t. iii. p. 614.

† *Christophe Colomb*, t. i. p. 363.

‡ "*The Life of Las Casas*," London, 1883, 4th ed., p. 185.

events establishes it with the greatest likelihood. Given the presence of the Court at Salamanca, and the assembly of an official commission during the winter of 1486–1487, it can scarcely be doubted that Deza took part therein. He was in Salamanca just at the time, either as professor of the university or as preceptor of the Infante Don Juan. Rémésal says both, for it is the very time when he passed from the chair of theology to the preceptorial charge of the young prince. Knowing his friendship for Columbus and considering his scientific authority as first in rank on the professorial staff, we doubt not that he participated in the discussions, which had long since been in preparation.

It is quite inconceivable that he who was simply Prior of Prado, and a former professor of Salamanca, should have been invited, and that the master who held the first position of the university, and who enjoyed the highest confidence of the Court, should not have taken part in the conferences which concerned a man and an idea both alike dear to him. If Diego de Deza remained a stranger to that most important act, the only important one, indeed, of the first years of the sojourn of Columbus in Spain, we fail to see where, when, or how he could have acquired those so formal titles of patronage which Columbus conferred upon him by saying that he (Deza) had always favored him and desired his glory ever since his first coming into Castille. In further confirmation of these inductions is what may be called the latest interposition of Deza, by obtainment of pecuniary aid furnished to Columbus subsequently to the Salamanca conferences. We know that the consultors in general had rejected the theories of the tenacious navigator. The Court, which had convoked the junta to arrive at a motived determination, could not have dreamt of binding itself to the interests of Columbus. Nevertheless, from that time on we find the latter's name entering upon the royal account books, and it is important to know the intermediary agent of those favors.

The learned Navarrete, whose critical works form the solid bases of the history of Columbus and of early American history, believed that Diego de Deza was the direct intermediary by whose order the first sums were drawn from the

royal treasury by Christopher Columbus.* The importance of Deza's patronage, above all after the last voyage of the Admiral of the Indies, when Deza was really Bishop of Palencia, seems to have led Navarrete into error. This writer, moreover, did not know the date of the elevation of the Infante's preceptor to the episcopal dignity. It is henceforth certain that in 1487 Deza was neither Bishop of Palencia nor even simply a bishop. His elevation to the episcopate, with the title of Bishop of Zamora, was on the 17th of April, 1494.† It is, therefore, not he who gave the official order to pay Columbus several important sums during the years 1487 and 1488.

But who was then Bishop of Palencia? It was a colleague and friend of Deza, Alonzo de Burgos.‡

A simple Dominican religious, his merits had gained him promotion to the highest dignities from the beginning of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. At the time with which we have to do, he was one of those high ecclesiastical personages whom we see the Catholic sovereigns constantly gathering around themselves for the government of their states and for the direction of their conscience.§

The predilection of Ferdinand and Isabella for the Dominicans was most marked. At the time of the Salamanca Commission Alonzo de Burgos was Grand Chaplain and President of the Council of Castille. Thomas de Torquemada held in his hands all the powers of the Inquisition, and Diego de Deza superintended the education of the young prince, in

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* *Coleccion*, t. ii. p. 92.

† Ripoll, *Bull. Ord. Præd.*, t. iv. p. 197.

‡ Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, Ratisbonne, 1873, p. 63, assigns the year 1486 for Burgos' nomination; Touron, *loc. cit.*, t. iii. p. 694, assigns the year 1484.

§ For an account of Alonzo de Burgos, consult Touron, *Hist. des Hommes Illustres*, etc., t. iii. pp. 693–697. It was he who conceived the happy idea of founding a school of higher studies for the Dominican professors—the College of St. Gregory, at Valladolid. He thereby laid the foundation of the doctrinal supremacy of the order in Spain during the sixteenth century. That college sent out such men as Victoria, Melchior Cano, the two Sotos, Caranza, Bañez, Medina, Granada, and others. Deza founded a like college at Seville, under the patronage of St. Thomas.

whom were centred the hopes of all the people. In their affection for the Dominicans, the sovereigns went so far as to occupy their Convent of St. Thomas, at Avila, making it their favorite residence. It is there that reposes to this day, a pledge of their friendship, the young prince whom Deza had initiated into knowledge and virtue, not far from another tomb, abandoned by a strange irony of time and of revolutions to tranquillity without parallel, where nevertheless there rests a man who raised such great storms of implacable anger—Thomas de Torquemada, O. P.

It was not, then, a meaningless protection, the Dominican protection at the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella. In that hour, when Columbus had need of it, it came to him incontestably through Diego de Deza. The Salamanca Commission had universally rebuffed the projects of Columbus, but it was by private interposition with the sovereigns that the preceptor of the Infante saved the hopes of the future discoverer of the Indies from their first shipwreck.

Alonzo de Burgos, as President of the Council, carried the orders of their Majesties into execution and delivered the official certificates of the royal grants to Columbus. In the account books of the royal treasurer, Francisco Gonzales of Seville, we find entries of various sums paid by the order, or by the *schedule*, of the Bishop of Palencia. When their Highnesses are present, the order is given by them, and the Bishop makes out the *schedule*, or bill, which is presented to the treasury. In the absence of the sovereigns, the Bishop of Palencia, President of the council, gives the order, and another member draws up, or at least signs, the *schedule*.

Thus: "On May 5, 1487, by order of the Bishop of Palencia, the treasurer pays 3,000 *maravedis* to Christopher Columbus, a stranger, who is working at certain things in the service of their Highnesses."

"On August 27, of the same year, payment of 4,000 *maravedis*, by order of their Highnesses and by *schedule* of the Bishop."

"On July 3, Columbus receives 3,000 *maravedis* towards expenses of removal."

"On October 15th, by order of their Highnesses and by *schedule* of the Bishop, again 4,000 *maravedis*." *

From his first arrival in Spain, therefore, the hands of two Dominicans were proffered to Columbus. These Dominicans were Diego de Deza and Alonzo de Burgos, but they were both moved by one heart, by that of Deza, the staunch protector of Columbus, whom the royal books in that hour of trial call a stranger the first time they record his name.

Finally, to bring the question of the Salamanca Junta to a close, we shall take up a statement of the learned M. Harrisse. We are by no means inclined to believe with him that the conference, of which we have spoken, was "directed by Talavera." † Not only is there nothing to prove such a rôle on the part of Talavera, but the circumstances themselves render it improbable. Maldonado, indeed, assures us that, in company with the Prior of Prado, he assisted at the junta; but he does not at all point out what part was there taken by Talavera; and if Maldonado mentions this personage alone, it is by reason of his relations with him and on account of the high dignities to which he subsequently attained. On another hand, there is a strong unlikelihood that a simple religious, coming into the midst of a body of savants, many of whom preceded him in rank by their scientific titles, or by their official dignity, would be called to take the direction of the commission. If any function of this nature is to be attributed to Talavera, it ought to be

* "En dicho dia (5 Mayo de 1487) di á Cristóbal Colomo, extrangero, tres mil Maravedis, que esta aqui faciendo algunas cosas compliderας al servicio de Sus Altezas, por cédula de Alonza de Quintanilla, con mandamiento del Obispo (de Palencia)."

"En 27 de dicho mes (Agosto de 1487) di á Cristóbal Colomo quatro mil Maravedis para ir al Real por mandado de Sus Altezas por cédula del Obispo."

"Son siete mil Maravedis con tres mil que se le mandaron dar para ayuda de su costa por otra partida de 3 de Julio."

"En dicho dia (15 de Octubre de 1487) di á Cristóbal Colomo cuatro mil Maravedis que Sus Altezas le mandaron dar para ayuda á su corta por cédula del Obispo."—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, t. ii. p. 4.

† *Christophe Colomb*, t. i. p. 363.

at the commission of the end of 1491, for the *Histories* of Ferdinand Columbus then positively assign such a rôle to him.*

But it is known with what mistrust the data of this work should be accepted, and we shall show farther on that, in regard to the rôles of the pretended protectors of Columbus, it has no more authority than on many other points wherein it is fairly crammed with gross and impudent errors. If Deza assisted at the Salamanca conferences — and everything induces us to believe that he did — he must have been found there in the first rank. The junta was an assembly of savants, and it was as one of them that he must have taken part in their deliberations. But he was also preceptor of the Infante, and he had occupied the first chair of the university ; it is therefore readily conceivable that, in these debates, with his twofold title, he must have had the precedence, at once, of honor and of scientific attainment.

It may appear fastidious to our readers to behold us thus laboriously threading a path hedged in with many difficulties, with the sole object of placing beyond doubt a fact which writers have long since accepted without hesitation, which the arts have popularized, and which legend has largely exploited. But historical criticism nowadays makes urgent demands, which must be taken into consideration. Far from complaining of its severity and mistrust, we laud its character ; for there, whither its jealous sceptre has passed, history has been raised up, renewed and more beautiful, upon a pedestal henceforth indestructible and alone worthy of the truth. The vulgar will always abandon rigorous history

* " Le altezze loro la commisero al Prior di Prado, che poi fu Archivescovo di Granata," etc.—*Historie del Fernando Colombo*, etc., Venetia, 1571. p. f. 32, verso. In this passage the writer of the *Histories* had the deposition of Maldonado under his eyes, but, since it bears no express date, he absurdly put the fact down as having taken place in 1491, not suspecting that Talavera was then no longer Prior of Prado and that he had already become Archbishop of Granada. He has materially preserved Maldonado's formula, true of the junta of 1486–1487, but erroneous of 1491. As to the chief rôle attributed to Talavera, the *Histories* have simply imagined it, arbitrarily glossing the data of Maldonado under that necessity of amplification which they exhibit throughout.

for the amplifications of romance and of legend ; but the thinking man will find more joy and honor in holding the golden, labor-conquered grain of truth in the palm of his hand than in the possession of puerile or imaginary treasures.

Be it now permitted us rapidly to sketch the general aspect of what we believe the Salamanca Junta to have been, separating the great lines of this event from the fundamental criticisms established in the preceding pages.

When Christopher Columbus came to the Court of Castille with the offer of his services, promising the discovery, not of a New World, but of a shorter route to the Indies, the Catholic sovereigns must have been moved by the solicitations of a twofold impulse : one of distrust of an adventurer, and of a project perhaps a mere chimera ; another of desire and of hope for the advantages which the recent discoveries of the Portuguese and the progress of navigation had made possible. It was of the wisdom of the Sovereigns of Castille and Leon not likely to embark in an enterprise of this nature. They must needs reflect, and, above all, consult. In the impossibility of rapidly treating about the affair, by reason of the grave undertakings which Ferdinand and Isabella then had on their hands, and also by reason of the lack of competent men among their immediate retainers, Columbus was given the hope and the prospect of a serious examination of his schemes as soon as circumstances would make it possible. From the year 1486 there must have been under consideration a plan for the consultation of savants and specialists, and that, to all appearances, at Salamanca, where the most competent and skillful in the matter seemed already assembled. When the project took shape, Columbus came to the front, and, with that resolution and tenacity of purpose which were at the bottom of his character, he prepared the way for an official examination of his ideas. The capital importance which such a measure must have been to him would not permit him to leave anything to chance.

At Salamanca he found Diego de Deza, a professor the most in evidence at the university. The ideas of Deza,

which were not other than those of his school, touching the problems raised by Columbus, at once put him in accord with a man who felt in himself the energy of practically demonstrating the truth of theories hitherto confined to the halls of academies and schools. Pending the arrival of the Catholic sovereigns and awaiting their appointment of his judges, Columbus, through Deza, entered into friendly relations with the Dominicans of St. Stephen's, the most important and most lettered convent of the city. Deza's ideas, which were also those of the learned monks of this house, assured Columbus a friendly reception. He was lodged, fed, entertained, as Rémésal says, by the monks of St. Stephen's. To this day, in the environs of the city, there is pointed out a sort of villa to which tradition has attached the name of Columbus, and which is regarded as having been placed at the disposition of the Genoese mariner by the convent of Dominicans, of which it was a dependency. In Deza and in his colleagues Columbus found convinced and devoted auxiliaries. Many a time, awaiting the official examination projected by the Court, the solicitor must have discussed with the religious of St. Stephen's the theories and the visions that beset his mind ; and so it was that, provided with the double hospitality of body and of ideas, the courageous stranger awaited the coming of the sovereigns.

The winter of 1486–87 witnessed the sequel to their design of forming a scientific commission to examine Columbus' schemes of discovery. The chief consultors would naturally be taken from the *personnel* of the university. With these were associated various scientific notabilities, such as they were to be had in those days, and in this way it was that Hernando de Talavera was summoned from his convent. To the men of letters were also joined certain specialists or seafaring men, as well as some delegates of the Royal Council, like Maldonado, whose deposition has rendered us such important service in this discussion.

Several sessions must have been devoted to the schemes of the discovery of the Indies as they were proposed by Columbus. The debates, for the most part, assuredly turned on the discussion of the scientific authorities of the school, and of

the practical difficulties of putting them into execution. At the time a double trend of ideas unequally divided the minds of Spain. One, scientific, handed down from Aristotle, and deeply imbedded in the classical teaching of the Dominican school by the labors of Albert the Great and of St. Thomas Aquinas; another from St. Augustine and Lactantius, augmented by the adherence of Nicholas de Lyra, denying the existence of the antipodes, and defending its position with arguments drawn from scriptural texts, superficially understood, and with the current popular and unscientific objections. Unfortunately, these last views had a strong hold on the greater part of the minds of the entire peninsula. The episcopacy, as an eye-witness of the junta of 1491, where the same discussions were renewed, will inform us, united in an almost solid opposition against the cosmographical ideas of Aristotle, and the testimony of Maldonado further assures us that the universality of the consulters of the Salamanca conferences repudiated the views of Columbus. The inspired navigator, along with the most learned of the company, vainly argued down their objections, and finally he was almost alone to persevere in his ideas and in his resolutions.

These memorable conferences were held at St. Stephen's Convent, the then intellectual centre of Salamanca, and the hall where Columbus so boldly defended the inspirations of his genius is shown even to this day. This first commission brought nothing to light. Its savants, for a time, yet closed the gates of the New World to their discoverer.

The conferences of 1487 having resulted in a pure negation of the practicability of the schemes proposed, logic required the sovereigns of Spain to give Columbus *congé;* but it was not so. There was a private influence somehow exercised on Ferdinand and Isabella, and Columbus was enabled to follow up his plans, aided and sustained by royal grants. No doubt that Deza was the agent of these benefactions. Living at the Court, in consequence of his office of preceptor of the Infante, he found, over and above his personal credit with the princes, the support of his colleague and friend, Alonzo de Burgos, President of the Royal Council and chief mover of the administrative resolutions. In the danger that threat-

ened Columbus at that moment, he himself assures us that it was Deza who saved all and preserved America for Spain. There is no doubt that Deza from the first assumed the attitude which we have ascribed to him, and persevered in it to the end. This is apparent from the very words of the Admiral, affirming that Deza had always favored him and desired his honor ever since his arrival in Spain—words amply commented by the authority of Rémésal and by the conjuncture of events during the years 1486 and 1487.

The six years, or thereabouts, spent by Columbus in effecting the acceptance of his projects by the Court of Castille, embrace the period between two juntas, or scientific conferences—that of Salamanca, of which we have already spoken, and that of Granada, or, to give its new name to that city, which had passed from the hands of the Moors into those of Ferdinand and Isabella, Santa Fé. Neither of these commissions favored Columbus. Of the latter we should have nothing or almost nothing to say, if, after its sessions and negative results, we did not once more find Diego de Deza saving the projects of Columbus from final wreck, and if it were not here necessary to undertake a task of historical justice.

It was toward the latter part of the year 1491, that Columbus casually stopped at the Franciscan Monastery of La Rabida,* and there received hospitality from the Guardian, Father Antonio de Marchena, who encouraged him in his designs. The personal mediation of this religious with Isabella, and his journey to the Court in company with Columbus, resulted in the formation of a new scientific tribunal, with a view to a final examination of the propositions of the tenacious navigator. The existence of these conferences of Santa Fé is placed beyond doubt, and that independently of the empoisoned source of the *Histories*.†

According to Las Casas, the sequel of these conferences was precisely the same as that of the Salamanca commission. Columbus was not at all understood there. Las Casas relates the story in terms of rare energy: "Again they

* "En se rendant à Huelva il s'arrête fortuitement au Monastère de La Rabida, en Octobre ou Novembre, 1491."—Harrisse, *Christophe Colomb*, i. p. 357.

† "L'autre (conférence) se tint à Santa Fé, pendant les dernières mois de 1491."—Harrisse, *loc. cit.*, i. p. 363. The report of an eye-witness, Geraldini, is cited later.

busied themselves to the utmost. A great number of persons were assembled together. Philosophers were consulted, and astrologers and cosmographers (if there were then any in Castille deserving the name), and mariners and pilots. All, as with one voice, declared that the schemes of Columbus were folly and vanity. They ridiculed him and tore him at every turn. The Admiral himself bears witness to these facts, and narrates them several times in his letters to the Sovereigns." *

Contemning the testimony of the *Histories* and neglecting that of Las Casas, M. Harrisse believes that, from certain data, which we shall examine, he can infer that the Granada commission was favorable to Columbus, thanks to the powerful protection of Mendoza, "who there played a decisive rôle."†

We believe either part of the proposition to be absolutely untenable. The Commission was not favorable to Columbus, nor was Mendoza his protector, at least on the grounds given. The historical basis upon which M. Harrisse rests his assertion is constituted exclusively by the authority of Oviedo, who recognizes Mendoza as protector of Columbus, and by the testimony of Alessandro Geraldini, who assisted at the meeting, and confirms the fact of Mendoza's presence there. This process, we believe, is to seek, with data of little surety, to solve a problem of which we may have a solution from documents very authoritative and otherwise positive.

First, as to the information given by Geraldini, it is of absolute value to prove the fact of the Granada commission at which he assisted; but beyond that, it does not in any way support the assertion that the conference was favorable to Columbus; on the contrary, it goes directly to confirm the recital of Las Casas.

* "Hiciérouse de nuevo muchas diligencias, juntaus muchas personas, hubiérouse informaciones de filósofos, y astrólogos, y cosmígrafos (si con todo entonces había algunos perfectos en Castilla), de marineros y pilotos, y todos, á una voz decian que era todo locura y vanidaô, y á cada paso burlaban y escarnecian de ello, segun que el Almirante muchas veces á los Reyes en sus cartas, lo refiere y certifica."—*Hist. de las Indias*, i. p. 243.

† *Christophe Colomb*, t. i. p. 363.

"There was," says Geraldini, "a diversity of opinion in the council, because many Spanish bishops regarded the belief in the existence of the antipodes as heretical, by reason of the authority of Nicholas de Lyra and of St. Augustine. I, who was behind Diego de Mendoza, perhaps because I was young, objected that St. Augustine and Lactantius could have been very great theologians, but decidedly poor cosmographers." *

From the testimony of this eye-witness one can easily gather that the junta was far from being favorable, since the bishops quite generally held that the ideas of Columbus were heretical, and since it attributed to a young man's presumption the observation which we to-day find a very sensible one, but which, in the sages of Granada, perhaps stirred up no other sentiment than that of pity.

As to the part attributed to Mendoza, the words of Geraldini cannot be taken to establish anything else than the presence of the great Cardinal at the conference.

We have now to consider the authority of Oviedo. "In nearly all the histories and chronicles," writes M. Harrisse, "where there is question of the discovery of the New World and of the tribulations which Columbus suffered, it is neither to Deza, nor to Quintanilla, nor to Cabrero that the merit of the enterprise is attributed, but to Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, grand Cardinal of Spain." † This observation made, M. Harrisse himself goes on to reduce it to its just value. Closely examining these recitals and these histories, "one remains convinced that their only source of

* "Cum coadunato primariorum consilio variæ sententiæ essent, eo quod multi antistites patriæ Hispanæ manifestum reum hæreseos esse plane asserebant, eo quod Nicolaus a Lyra totam terræ humanæ compaginem ab Insulis, Fortunatis Orientem usque supra mare extentam nulla latera habere per inferiorem partem spheræ obtorta dicit. Et Divus Aurelius Augustinus nullos esse Antipodas affirmat. Tunc ego qui forte juvenis, retro eram Didacum Mendozam, sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalem, hominem genere, integritaté, prudentia, rerum notitia, et omnibus præclaræ naturæ ornamentis illustrem petii. Cui cum referrem Nicolaum a Lyra, virum sacræ theologiæ exponendæ egregium fuisse, et Aurelium Augustinum doctrina et sanctitate magnum, tamen cosmographia caruisse," etc.—*Itinerarium*, Romæ, 1631, p. 204; Harrisse, *l. c.*, i. p. 380.

† *Christophe Colomb*, i. p. 378.

information is Oviedo or Gomara." No doubt the text of Oviedo is formal. Mendoza recommended Columbus to their Catholic Majesties, and through Mendoza and Quintanilla, who had presented him to the Cardinal, he was able to obtain a hearing from their Highnesses.

There is nothing to hinder the admission that Mendoza presented Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella, and that he testified interest in and good-will towards the poor, great, misunderstood man. Geraldini also expressly mentions that "on the recommendation of an illustrious man (viz. Mendoza) the Sovereigns were moved by the distress of Columbus."*

But that the assistance and mediation of Mendoza were continued through the Santa Fé Conference, above all so far as to render it favorable to Columbus, it is impossible to admit. There is nothing more natural than that Mendoza, by reason of his high position, took part in carrying the royal orders into execution, after it was finally resolved to attempt to realize the projects of Columbus ; and it was just as natural that Oviedo therefore attributed the honor of the enterprise to the great Cardinal as to a primary agent, who, without having carried on the negotiations, nevertheless coupled his name therewith. But that Mendoza entered into the views and interests of Columbus so far as to have the right of being regarded as the efficacious cause of the discovery and to reap the honor of having given America to Spain is erroneous, and it is Columbus himself who rectifies the error.

We have already seen the formal opinion of Las Casas, who asserts that the junta of Granada had treated the propositions of Columbus with utter contempt, and Las Casas appeals to the writings of the unhappy navigator to support his assertion. Columbus expressed himself on this question very clearly, indeed, and it is he whom we must hear before all others. In the beginning of the account of his third

* "Is Illiberim urbem, quam nostro sæculo Granatam vocant, ad Ferdinandum regem et Elisabetam reginam perexit, qui auctoritate clari hominis moti pro Colono misero. Quo intra paucos dies veniente, cum coadunato primariorum homininum," etc., as in the note cited above.—Geraldini, *Itinerarium*, p. 204.

voyage, Columbus addresses himself to the Sovereigns and briefly sums up the aspect and state of that period, during which he had fought so hard against all to get his projects accepted by the Sovereigns of Spain:

"Most serene, most high and powerful Princes, the King and the Queen, our Seigniors: It is the Holy Trinity who formerly moved your Highnesses to the enterprise of the Indies. In its infinite goodness it made me its messenger, and it was as its ambassador that I came into your royal presence, as to the greatest Christian princes and also as to the most devoted to the defense and propagation of the faith. The persons who then had knowledge of my projects held them as impossible. They did not imagine any other means of increasing your riches than the ordinary goods of fortune, and they were prepossessed by that idea. In that affair I spent six or seven years of hard labor, showing, as best I knew, how much it would serve Our Lord to propagate His Holy Name and His Faith among many peoples, and how much that work was worthy of great princes, as much by reason of its own excellence as by reason of the high fame and imperishable memory which would be connected therewith. There was also need of treating the human side of the project. I then showed what numerous and credible savants had written in their histories; how they related that there were great riches in those countries. It was even my duty to report for my purpose the opinion of those who had treated of the position of the world. Finally, your Highnesses determined to put the project into execution, thereby proving the great heart which your Majesties always had for great enterprises, because those who had known that affair or assisted at the discussion, all, in a body, regarded the project as a burlesque, save two friars who were always constant."*

The words of Columbus, as is evident, are most clear and most explicit. When he first came to Spain, those persons who learned about his projects declared them to be

* Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i., *Beginning of Third Voyage:* "Vine con la embajada á su Real conspectu, movido como á los mas altos Principes de cristianos . . . las personas que entendieron en ello lo tuvieron por impo-

impossible: "*Las personas que entendieron en ello lo tuvieron por imposibile.*" That was at the Salamanca Commission of 1486–1487. Later, after six or seven years of painful struggle, the propositions of Columbus were again submitted to a board of examination. All who assisted at this rehearing and who heard the exposition of his ideas, all unanimously held the affair to be a farce: "*Todos los que habian entendido en ello y oido esta platica todos á una mano lo tenian á burla.*" It cannot be doubted that Columbus here refers to the last negotiations and to the Commission of Granada. The word *platica* is very applicable to that discussion where he gave an exposition of the ideas which he described above. Finally, the text formally and decisively excludes all concourse and support other than that of the two religious who so constantly defended him: "*Salvo dos frailes que siempre fueron constantes.*"

Who, then, are those two men to whom is due the honor of having been so resolute in their adherence to Columbus? Navarrete, whose opinion has found general acceptation, says they were the preceptor of the Infante Don Juan, Diego de Deza, and the Guardian of the convent of La Rabida, Antonio de Marchena. M. Harrisse, to whom the early history of America is beholden for many new and critical views, would exclude Deza from the glory of having been one of the two monks. Preoccupied with the task of separating the traditional personality of the Guardian of La Rabida into two Franciscan monks, viz., Juan Perez and Antonio de Marchena, M. Harrisse, the learned author of the *Vie de Christophe Colomb*, has endeavored to make the text quoted above do service in support of his position. If Deza is not one of the two friars referred to by Columbus, it is likely that they are the two Franciscans at whom he points. Whatever there may be in the probable duality de-

sibile. . . . Puse eu esto seis ó siete años de grave pena, demostrando lo mejor que yo sabia cuanto servicio se podia hacer á nuestro Señor en esto . . . en fin Vuestras Altezas determinaron que esto se pusiese en obra. Aqui mostraron el grande corazión que siempre hicieron en toda cosa grande, porque todos los que habian entendido en ello y oido esta platica todos á una mano lo tenian á burla, salvo dos frailes que siempre fueron constantes."

fended by M. Harrisse, his reasoning does not bear him out, for he has unwittingly started out on an erroneous line of argument.

M. Harrisse thinks that Columbus would not have used the word *fraile* to designate Deza after his elevation to the dignity of bishop, and Columbus could not have known him when he was yet a simple friar.

"Columbus speaks of two monks who aided him. Antonio de Marchena was certainly one of them, but who was the other? All the historians name Diego de Deza. Deza, it is true, early took the (monk's) frock, and was all his life affiliated to the Order of St. Dominic; but this learned ecclesiastic did not know Columbus when he was only a simple *fraile*. 'A monk'—is that the expression the Admiral would have used in speaking of a prelate who, after having been a professor of theology at the University of Salamanca, and preceptor of the heir to the crown, was already Bishop of Zamora, when he met him for the first time in 1486–1487, and who, at the time he speaks of him, had already occupied the important sees of Salamanca, of Jaën, and of Palencia, and was titular confessor of the Catholic Sovereigns? We think, on the contrary, that the two monks alluded to by Columbus were Fr. Antonio de Marchena and Fr. Juan Perez, whom, after the example of Las Casas, we must regard as two perfectly distinct personalities."*

Even if Columbus had not known Deza except after his nomination to the episcopal dignity, there is, nevertheless, nothing to prove that the word *fraile* could not be used to

*"Colomb parle de deux moines qui l'aidèrent. Antonio de Marchena était l'un certainement; mais qui fut l'autre?

"Tous les historiens désignent Diégo de Déza. Déza prit le froc de bonne heure, il est vrai, et resta toute sa vie affilié à l'ordre de Saint Dominique; mais ce savant ecclésiastique ne connut pas Colomb lorsqu'il ne fut que simple *fraile*. 'Un moine,' est-ce l'expression dont l'amiral se serait servi pour parler d'un prélat qui, après avoir été professeur de théologie à l'Université de Salamanque et précepteur de l'héritier de la couronne, était déjà évêque de Zamora quand il le rencontra pour la première fois en 1486–1487, et qui, à l'époque où il en parle, avait déjà passé par les importants évêchés de Salamanque, de Jaën, de Palencia, et était le confesseur en titre des Rois Catholiques.

"Nous pensons, au contraire, que le deux moines auxquels Colomb fait allusion étaient le Fr. Antonio de Marchena et le Fr. Juan Perez, dont il

designate a monk who had become bishop, especially if referred to in connection with another simple friar.

In point of fact, in Spain, about the sixteenth century, bishops taken from monastic orders retained their appellation of *fraile*, and to be convinced of it we have but to turn to the first pages of the "History of the Indies," by Las Casas, where the aged missionary places his titles of *fraile* and bishop side by side: "*Don Fray Bartólomé de Las Casas, fraile de Santo Domingo, obispo de Chiapa.*"*

But, however that may be, M. Harrisse started out on a wrong hypothesis. Deza was not bishop when Columbus knew him at Salamanca, nor, furthermore, was he bishop at the time of the Santa Fé commission. It was two years and a half later, on April 14th, 1494, that he was nominated to the see of Zamora.† Therefore, before the discovery of America, Columbus knew Deza only as a simple religious, that is, as a *fraile*. Diego de Deza, consequently, is, beyond all dispute, one of the two sole personages who were favorable to Columbus at Santa Fé, and we shall later adduce further testimony of the Admiral—testimony otherwise most explicit—which will leave room for no doubt whatever.

As to that which would tend to admit one or several other protectors besides the two monks which Columbus recognizes, his own authority makes the thing impossible.

Can it really be conceived that Columbus would have made the like assertions to the Catholic Sovereigns with so much

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faut faire, à l'exemple de Las Casas, deux personnalités parfaitement distinctes."—*Christophe Colomb*, i. 371.

M. Harrisse takes all this information about Deza from Echard, *Scriptores*, O. P., t. ii. p. 51.

According to the *Bullarium Ord. Præd.*, t. iv., and Gams, *Series Episc. Eccles. Cath.*, the following are the sees occupied by Deza: *Zamora* (Bull. April 14, 1494, no date given by Gams); *Salamanca* (Bull. 1497, Gams, 1496); *Jaen* (Bull. 1498 circiter; Gams, 1497); *Palencia* (Bull. 1500; Gams, 1500); *Seville* (Bull. 1504; Gams, 1505). The letters of nomination arrived on Dec. 21, 1504. Deza took possession by proxy early in 1505, and only made his solemn entry on Oct. 24 of the same year. (Ortiz de Zuñiga, *Anales*, lib. xii. et xiii.); *Toledo* (Bull. 1523; Gams, 1523.) He died on June 9, 1523, at the age of eighty years.

* T. i. p. 34.

† *Bull. Ord. Præd.*, t. iv. p. 197.

insistence, about facts well known to them, if those assertions had not been well founded and notorious? Can any one imagine Christopher Columbus, patronized by the great Cardinal of Spain, the third Majesty, as he was then popularly called, declaring to the Sovereigns that he had received no concourse except from two monks? Questions of the kind scarcely call for consideration.

After the junta of Santa Fé, all seemed to be hopelessly lost; but, nevertheless, the prospects of the unfortunate solicitor were never brighter.

The guardian of La Rabida had accomplished his mission with the conference of Santa Fé, whither he had conducted his illustrious *protégé*. After that, he could succor Columbus in no other way than by extending him that sympathy which the noble hearted are ever ready to give to genius overtaken by ill fortune.

As for Diego de Deza, he lived at the Court, where his preceptorial charge kept him near to the person of the young prince, the heir. It was his mediation which saved all. "After the sessions of the commission," says Las Casas, "Columbus was entirely abandoned, the sovereigns giving him to understand that there was nothing for him to do but to withdraw. On receiving the Queen's order to depart, he took leave of those who had befriended and favored him, and set out for Cordova, with the firm intention of proceeding to France, to present his schemes there and once more to try his fortune."*

But in that hour, some one stopped the discoverer, sad but not discouraged. That person did not discover the Indies, but he assuredly saved them for Spain. That man was Diego de Deza. For this fact we have the warranty, not of suspected chroniclers, but once more of Christopher Columbus himself. He surely had discernment enough, and was sufficiently acquainted with the Court not to confound

* "Vino en total despedimiento, mandando los Reyes que le dijesen que se fuese en hora buena. . . . El cual, despedido por mandado de la Reina, despidióse él de los que alli le favorecian; tomó el camino para Córdoba con determinada voluntad de pasarse à Francia y hacer lo que arriba se dijó."—*Hist. de las Indias*, i. p. 243.

Deza with Cardinal Mendoza, as does Oviedo, and still less with Louis de Santangel, as do the *Histories*.

On Dec. 21, 1504, Columbus wrote to his son and successor, Don Diego, telling him to take steps to learn if Queen Isabella had mentioned him in her will; and he furthermore exhorts Diego to urge Deza, who was then bishop of Palencia, to take the matter in hand. Then he adds the following memorable words: "It is he (Deza) who was the cause of their Highnesses possessing the Indies, and of my remaining in Castille after I had already set out for foreign parts."*

Against this testimony, no allegation, no historical subtlety will prevail. If any one knew who stopped and detained Columbus at the time he left Castille and disuaded him from going to France and finally put him on the way to the Indies, it is Columbus himself. And Columbus tells us, without the possibility of doubt or of equivocation, that that man was he who had been his protector from the first, his friend at Salamanca, the almoner of his first *maravedis*, Diego de Deza: "*It is he who is the cause of their Highnesses possessing the Indies, and of my remaining in Castille after I was already on the road for foreign parts.*" Far be it from us to wrong any one, but history has its rights. We believe that the united claims of all the protectors of Columbus, real and pretended, do not, in the eyes of an impartial mind, overpoise the weight of this immortal phrase.

Immense was the glory that awaited Columbus on his return from the discovery of the Indies. He was universally extolled. History knows the great triumph and rejoicing with which he was welcomed back after his perilous voyage; but, alas, it also knows that his good fortune was not to endure. After his second voyage, he became the object of the envy and slander of enemies. He returned from his third voyage, loaded with chains like a criminal and divested

* "Es de trabajar de saber si la Reina, que Dios tiene, dejo dicho algo en su testamento de mi, y es de dar priesa al Sr. Obispo de Palencia, el que fué causa que Sus Altezas hubiesen las Indias, y que yo quedase en Castilla, que ya estaba yo de camino para fuera."—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i. p. 356.

of the government of the Indies and of his titles. Although the sovereigns did something to redress his grievances, still they did not render him full justice. From the 10th of April, 1495, Ferdinand, contrary to his agreement, had declared the navigation of the Indies free.*

Thenceforth Columbus had to suffer the mistrust and ill-will of the King and of his administration. It was with exceeding difficulty that he prepared for his last voyage and armed four poor caravels.

The Admiral's expedition of 1502, begun under such unfavorable auspices, resulted in a downright failure. He returned and landed at San Lucar de Barrameda, Nov. 7, 1504, and re-entered Spain never again to leave it. This last voyage to the Indies not only failed to better the position of Columbus, but it even notably made it worse. The expedition failed to accomplish its object. The Admiral did not find the straits he had gone to seek off the coasts of Darien. He brought back no gold, although he had caught a glimpse of wealth at Veragua. His ships had encountered fierce gales. Sky and sea seemed united to thwart him. His crew had mutinied woefully, and the dangers he thus ran surpassed even those of tempests. Sufferings and desperate struggling had brought him down and confined him to his bed, and had forever broken his health and energy. The trip to Santo Domingo fairly failed to recover him his revenues and to regain his rights, and, finally, he returned having accomplished nothing, without resources, his crew almost starved, his vessels wrecks, himself almost on the brink of death.

Disembarking at San Lucar, Columbus' first thought was to proceed to the Court, to give an account of his voyage to the Catholic sovereigns, and to urge them to satisfy his legitimate claims. But sickness detained him at Seville, and all the winter he was unable to set out for the Court. In the meantime, with the design of better securing his rights, he sent his son and successor, Don Diego, to Segovia, to present himself to the sovereigns. The correspondence

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* Navarrete, *Coleccion*, ii. 186, 187.

between the father and son during these months of their separation reveals how constant and importunate the Admiral was in pressing his claims upon Ferdinand and Isabella. It is also these letters, written by the failing hand of the Admiral, which have proved of invaluable assistance in this recital of the relations between Columbus and Diego de Deza. They have furnished us the surest and the most important data, which we have so far utilized in this paper. They shall further inform us of the firm reliance which Columbus placed in his protector of Salamanca and Santa Fé down to his last day.

When Columbus returned from his fourth voyage, Diego de Deza was still at the Court. The young prince, whose preceptor he was, had died (Oct. 4, 1497), at the age of nineteen years. He bore with him to the tomb the regrets of the whole nation, and with him departed the hopes of the aged sovereigns.*

Ferdinand and Isabella were unwilling to lose the services of Deza, and they accordingly retained him, raising him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities of the kingdom. In 1497, Deza was transferred from Zamora to the See of Salamanca, and, in the following year, to that of Jaen. It was just at the time that the Inquisitor General, Thomas de Torquemada, died (Sept. 16, 1498). The sovereigns appointed Deza to succeed him in his office, and he was confirmed by a pontifical brief of Dec. 1st of the same year. The following year (Dec. 8, 1499), Alonzo de Burgos, the old and faithful friend of Deza, also passed away. Deza replaced him in the See of Palencia (1500), and was honored with the additional titles of first royal confessor and chancellor of Castille. After the Sovereigns, he became the chief personage of the Court.†

* Don Juan, Prince of Asturias, was born at Seville, June 30, 1479. He died at Salamanca. (M. Lafuente, *Historia Generale de España*, Madrid, 1853, tom. x. pp. 62, 75.) At the National Library of Madrid, in the MS. Dd., 149, page 158, there was a letter of Deza to the sovereigns on the death of the prince. Some vandal hand tore out the leaves from page 136 to page 162. We do not know if this valuable document was published, or if there are copies of it extant. The letter very likely contained an account of the last moments of the young prince whom Deza had assisted.

† "Deinde in Pastorale album admissus quatuor Episcopalium sedium

It was in Deza that Columbus centred his hopes of obtaining justice and protection from Ferdinand and Isabella. Certainly he could not have desired a patron at once more powerful and more devoted. In his first letter to his son, nay, in the first few lines of his letter, he bears witness to all he owes Deza. "My dear son," writes Columbus, on Nov. 21, 1504, "I received your letter by the courier. You have done well in remaining there, in order to better the state of our affairs and to put them in order. The Lord Bishop of Palencia has always favored me and desired my honor ever since I came to Castille." These words of the Admiral were surely designed to remind the son of all that Deza had done for his father, and to give him to understand that in all his business at the Court he should count on the Chancellor of Castille and trust to his unfailing support. Columbus rightly believed that this patronage, already so long exercised, and amidst such solemn circumstances, could not now fail of succoring him in his latest ill-fortune. To this assurance of the signal part Deza had taken in the past, Columbus adds what he further expects to obtain through his mediation: "You should beg him to endeavor to find a remedy for my ills so many. Let him see to it that their Highnesses keep the compact and carry out the letters of favor which they granted to me, in order that I may be indemnified for my many injuries. He may be sure that, if their Highnesses acquit themselves of their obligations, it will prove of incredible advantage to them in fortune and in glory."*

Antistites, Zamorensis nempe, Salmanticensis, et Palentinæ (quam dum regeret summum etiam Fidei causarum in his regnis arbitrium tutelam suscepit) Gienennensisque una cum bonoribus Regum Protomystæ, Castellæque Cancellarum; atque inde Hispalensis archiepiscopus."—Nic. Antonio, *Bibl. Nov. Hispan.*, t. i. 215, col. 2. This writer erroneously places Jaën after Palencia. It was as Bishop of Palencia that Deza received his appointment to the chancellorship of Castille. Some writers give Nov. 7th as the date of the death of Alonzo de Burgos. See Gams, *Series Episcop.*, p. 64. In Touron, correct the date of his death, t. iii. p. 697, by that of p. 727. The chronology of the sees occupied by Deza has already been given in the preceding pages. For the date of his appointment as Inquisitor: Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, Paris, 1817, t. i. p. 289.

* "El Sr. Obispo de Palencia, siempre desque yo vine á Castilla me ha

Columbus, detained at Seville by fatigue and attacks of gout, announces his near departure for the Court, but he fears that sickness will hold him back on the way. His fears were, indeed, realized. Sickness and the severity of the winter delayed his journey until spring.

Meanwhile, among the recommendations which the Admiral makes to his son, be that one noted in which he asks him to endeavor to have the wages paid to those sailors who had accompanied him on his last voyage and who were now reduced to very straitened circumstances. This matter is also referred to the Bishop of Palencia.*

In his letter of Dec. 1, Columbus congratulates his son on having remained at the Court in the interest of their affairs. He directs him to procure a copy of the articles which recognize his rights in the royal privileges, so that he may act in his own name in the absence of his father. He exhorts him to endeavor to secure the revenues accruing to them on the exports of the Indies, and he adds: "You should apprise the Bishop of this matter, and also of the great confidence I have in him."†

About this time the question of establishing several bishoprics in the Indies was first discussed, and Deza was charged to negotiate the matter. Columbus expressed a wish to be heard on the subject before it came to be definitely arranged: "It is said here that measures are being taken to send three or four bishops to the Indies, and that the matter has been entrusted to the Lord Bishop of Palencia. After having recommended me to his kindness, tell him that I believe it would be of service to their Highnesses if I could consult with him before anything is concluded."‡

favorecido y deseado mi honra. Agora es de le suplicar que les plega de entender en el remedio de tantos agravíos míos; y que el asiento y cartas de merced que sus altezas me hicieron, que las manden cumplir y satisfacer tantos daños; y sea cierto que sí esto hacen Sus Altezas que les multiplicará la hacienda y grandeza in increible grado."—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, t. i. p. 334.

*Postscript to the same letter.

†"Al Sr. Obispo de Palencia es de dar parte desto con de la tanta confianza que ru su merced tengo."—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i. p. 339.

‡"Acá se diz que se ordena de enviar ó facer tres ó quatro Obispos de las

Columbus likewise announces the departure of his brother, Bartholomew, and of his youngest son, Ferdinand, for the Court. They are to join Diego and aid him in pushing his affairs. They set out on Dec. 5, taking with them the sum of 150 ducats and a memorial wherein Columbus sets forth the object of his claims.

Meanwhile Isabella had died, Nov. 27, at Medina del Campo. She it was, of the two Sovereigns of Castille, who had testified a real interest in Columbus, and who had treated him with kindness. She was taken from this life just when her protection was more than ever necessary to Columbus to clear up the difficulties of his position. One of the first cares of the Admiral, after the regretted loss of his royal friend, was to learn if Isabella had made any provision for him in her will. Again it is to Deza that he applies for the desired information. Writing to his son Diego, on Dec. 21, he says: "You should try to learn if the Queen, who is before God, has mentioned me in her testament. Urge the Lord Bishop of Palencia to take this matter in hand. It is he who is the cause of their Highnesses possessing the Indies, and who detained me in Castille after I was already on the way for foreign parts."*

No one could better advise Columbus of this point than Diego de Deza. As confessor of Isabella and Chancellor of Castille, it was for him to witness the last moments of the Queen, and to be concerned in the question of the succession. He was at Medina del Campo during Isabella's illness,† to assist his royal and Christian penitent, and she, in her affection for Deza, chose him to be one of her

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Indias, y que al Sr. Obispo de Palencia está remitido esto. Despues de me encomendado en su merced dile que creo que será servicio de Sus Altezas que yo fable con el primero que concluya esto."—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i. p. 340.

* "Es de trabajar de saber si la Reina, que Dios tiene, dejó dicho algo en su testamento de mi, y es de dar priesa al Sr. Obispo Palencia, el que pue causa que Sus Altezas hubiesen las Indias, y que yo quedase en Castilla, que ya estaba yo de camino para fuera."—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i. p. 346.

† On November 15, 1504, Deza published a regulation relative to the Inquisition (Llorente, *Hist. Criti. de l'Inq. Esp.*, i. p. 331), and it was dated from Medino del Campo (Touron, *l. c.*, p. 727).

executors, placing his name immediately after those of the King and of the Archbishop, the primate of Toledo.*

Unfortunately, the Queen had not mentioned the viceroy of the Indies in her will. The deep respect and the entire deference which she professed for her associate on the throne had undoubtedly made her fearful of marking out a line of conduct for Ferdinand, and she was unwilling to incommode or displease him. By the death of Isabella, Columbus must have realized that the best of his hopes were shattered.

In the same letter of Dec. 1, Columbus transmits a copy of the writing which he had prepared for the Pope, at his express wish. Before his communication is forwarded to the Sovereign Pontiff, the Admiral wishes it to be submitted to the inspection of the King or of the Bishop of Palencia, in order, as he says, to avoid false reports.†

It may here be pointed out that the correspondence of Columbus thus far cited, along with that to which we shall further have recourse, of itself clearly proves that the Bishop of Palencia was then holding one of the first official positions in the administration of the kingdom. There is no explaining Columbus' course in designating Deza to examine his document in the event of the King's omission or failure to do so, if, in a matter of this character, Deza had not some other right to intermediate than that of a mere benevolent patron. Even the position of confessor of the Sovereigns is insufficient to explain the part taken by the Bishop of Palencia in the highly important business of state and government questions. However, we know from other sources that, when Columbus was prosecuting his case at the Court, his protector of old had then for some years been Chancellor of Castille ; and it is in that capacity that

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*"Nombro por testamentarios al Rey y al Arzobispo de Toledo, y á don Diego de Deza, Obispo de Palencia Antonio de Fonseca y Juan Velásquez sus contadores mayores, y á su secretario, Juan Lopez de Lezarraga Mariana." —*Hist. General de España*, lib. xxviii. cap. xi.

†"El traslado de la carta te envio. Querria que le viese el Rey nuestro Señor, ó el Sr. Obispo de Palencia, primero que yo envie la cartá por evitar testimonios falsos."—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i. p. 346.

he enters into the negotiations of Diego Columbus, and that his name appears in the greater part of the Admiral's letters.

In a letter of Dec. 29, Columbus again alludes to the subject: "The King or the Bishop of Palencia should see the copy of the letter for the Pope, in order to avoid false reports." *

The Admiral then directs the attention of his son to a letter for Deza. He and his brother and his uncle are to take cognizance of it.†

One of the objects of this letter, which is unfortunately lost, was to recommend the case of the sailors who had accompanied him on his voyage. These unfortunates had not yet got their pay and were in sore need.

On January 18, 1505, Columbus for the last time reverts to the examination which he desired the King or Deza to make of his letter to the Pope. ‡

This new instance deserves attention, for it is of some importance for the chronology of the various episcopal sees occupied by Deza. This time the Bishop of Palencia is mentioned as the Archbishop of Seville. Ortiz de Zuñiga informs us that the bulls of Deza's nomination to this new see arrived at Seville December 21, 1504. §

After that, Columbus, being in that city, had knowledge of the appointment, and it is most likely that his letter, which he sent to Deza, by courier, on the 29th of December, was a letter of congratulation to his old friend and protector on his elevation to that high ecclesiastical position, which ranked first in the peninsula after that of Toledo.‖

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* "Este translado envio para que le vea Su Alteza, ó el Sr. Obispo de Palencia por evitar testimonios falsos."—Navarrete, *ibid.*, p. 347.

† "Yo le di una carta para le Sr. Obispo de Palencia: vedla y veala tu tio y hermano y Carvajal."—Navarrete, *ibid.*, p. 348.

‡ "La Carta del Santo Padre dije que era para que su merced la viese si alli estaba, y el Señor Arzobispo de Sevilla que el Rey non terná lugar para ella."—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, t. i. p. 350.

§ It is to be observed, however, that, in his letter of December 29, Columbus still calls Deza Bishop of Palencia.

‖ *Anales*, note by Navarrete, *ibid.*, p. 350.

In the meantime the measures of the son and of the brother of the Admiral, together with the efforts of Deza, did not avail much to hasten the Admiral's affairs to a close, at least as far as the principal question was concerned—his restoration to his titles and the recovery of his pecuniary rights in the New World. The resistance of the King was not to be overcome. Ferdinand had never had any regard for Columbus, and, since the discovery of the Indies had given a realty to the titles and quasi-royal privileges conceded by him, he, as it seemed, looked with regret upon the possibility of a greatness and power which would perhaps overshadow a part of his own majesty. Ferdinand suffered the proceedings of Columbus and his mandataries to drag on interminably. Apparently kindly disposed, he was at heart resolute not to permit the rise of Columbus and the establishment of his fortune. Fearing that his own person was the obstacle to the King's good will, Columbus offered to relinquish his titles and rights in favor of his son and heir, Diego; but it was all in vain. Ferdinand did not even give answer to the propositions of Columbus.

It was only in May that the Admiral was able to undertake the journey to the Court at Segovia. He thought that his presence would hasten the concession of his just and equitable claims. But therein he deceived himself again.

Las Casas appears to be the historian who best knew the King's disposition at this time, and he is the most independent in his judgment of him. He tells us that his information came from persons who stood high in Ferdinand's favor. The historian of the Indies thus describes the first interview of the sovereign and of Columbus: "The Admiral left Seville for the Court in May, 1505. The Court was then at Segovia. Upon his arrival, his brother and he went to kiss the hands of the King, and he received them with some semblance of pleasure."*

* "El Almirante partisse para la corte por el mes de Mayo, año de 1505, la qual estaba en Segovia; y llegando el y su hermano el Adelantado, á besar las manos la Rey, ricibióles con algun semblante alegre," etc.—*Hist. de las Indias*, t. iii. p. 187.

Columbus recounted the labors he had undertaken in the King's service, and asked him to fulfill the promises he had made. "The King replied," continues Las Casas, "that he acknowledged that he owed the Indies to Columbus, and that the latter had merited the recompense granted to him; but that, the better to arrange his affairs, he designed to appoint a person to represent him (the Admiral). Columbus replied, 'It shall be whomsoever your Highness deputes;' then he added, 'Who could do it better than the Archbishop of Seville, since he is the cause of your Highness's possessing the Indies?' The Admiral spoke thus, because the Archbishop of Seville, Don Diego de Deza, prior of the order of St. Dominic, when he was preceptor of the prince Don Juan, had strongly urged the Queen to accept the undertaking."*

This recital shows us what confidence Columbus always placed in Diego de Deza. The protector did not fail his client. They both strove to overcome the resolution of the King to accord nothing. The Sovereign's pretext of an intermediary agent was but a temporizing shift and a means of avoiding direct personal relations with the Admiral, whose presence would not permit him to be hard when Columbus demanded the acknowledgment and adjustment of his lawful claims. But it was written to the misfortune and to the glory of the discoverer of the Indies that his cause was a lost cause.

Las Casas severely judged the conduct of Ferdinand, but, as it appears, without partiality. "One would believe," he says, "that, if Ferdinand could have done it with a safe conscience and without dishonor to his name, he would have respected none of the privileges which he and the Queen

* "El Rey le respondio que bien via él que le habia dado las Indias, y habia merecido las mercedes que le habia hecho, y que para que su negocio se determinase seria bien señalar una persona; dijo el Almirante, 'sea la que Vuestra Alteza mandare,' y añido; 'quien lo puedo mejor hacer que el Arzobispo de Sevilla, pues habia sido causa, con el camarero, que Su Alteza hobiesse las Indias?' Esto dijo, porque, este Arzobispo de Sevilla que era D. Diego de Deza, fraile de Santo Domingo, siendo maestro del Principe D. Juan, insistió mucho con la reina que aceptase aquesta empresa."—*Ibid.*, p. 188.

had accorded to the Admiral, and which the latter had so well deserved." "I know not," he continues, "what could cause that coldness and aversion to a man who had rendered him so great service, if it was not that his mind was misled by the false imputations lodged against the Admiral, as I have learned from persons enjoying the favor of the Sovereign." *

As a matter of fact, the King not only failed to grant any favor to Columbus, but he even put all possible difficulties in his way, without, however, ceasing to shower compliments upon him.†

Columbus spent a whole year in the disagreeable position of an importunate solicitor. To tell the truth, important sums were paid to the Admiral's brother to cover the expenses of the fourth voyage, and to Diego Columbus, who had a title at the Court,‡ but the principal question was left unheeded. Once, indeed, the King, yielding to his political preoccupations, went so far as to offer Columbus the fief of Carrion de las Condes in Castille, in exchange for the renunciation of his title of Viceroy of the Indies and for the surrender of his other privileges. But Columbus indignantly repelled this royal affront. When he saw that all was over, at least as far as the King was concerned, and that he could no longer expect anything from him, not even justice, he turned to his constant protector, no less powerless than himself, though ever remaining the same to him. It was into the heart of Deza that he poured his last plaints. He was the most worthy of receiving them, and the most capable of sharing his last sorrows. "It seems," wrote Columbus to the Archbishop of Seville, "it seems that his Highness does not judge fit to fulfill the promises which I received from him and from the Queen, who is now in the abode of blessedness, notwithstanding their word and their seal. To

* This judgment is confirmed by the importunate requests of Columbus to have his letter to the Pope inspected by the King or Deza, so as to avoid the false reports.

† *Historia de las Indias*, cap. xxxvii.

‡ The title of "Contino" was given to him on Nov. 15, 1503.

fight against the King's will would be to fight against the wind. I have done all that I should. The rest I leave to God, who has never forsaken me in my needs."*

This, then, was the incomparable glory of Deza, twenty years earlier, to give Columbus the first words of encouragement, and, in the end, to receive the last confidences of that bruised and broken heart. In the interval, Deza had had credit enough to prevail upon the sovereigns to accept the undertaking of the discovery. Who will not henceforth admit, in the very words of the illustrious discoverer himself, *that it was indeed Diego de Deza who always favored Columbus, and desired his honor ever since his coming into Castille? That he furthermore was the cause of their Highnesses possessing the Indies, and for having detained Columbus when he was already on the road for foreign parts?*

The Admiral had followed the Court to Valladolid. It is there that he died, May 20, 1506. Spain knew not of his death. It was scarcely known around his very bier, and the chronicles of the city forgot to mention the event.

Deza had made his solemn entry into Seville, Oct. 24, 1505.† He seems shortly after to have quitted the Court, from which the Queen's death, the misfortunes of Columbus, and the policy of Ferdinand had alienated him. At Seville, Deza did not cease to cherish the remembrance of the events which had so long linked his life to the destiny of Columbus. His archiepiscopal city was the centre, as it were, whither all the stir and bustling excitement of the New World found its way and was echoed from across the ocean. Thither Ferdinand, the second son of Columbus, also repaired to devote himself to the peaceful pursuit and cult of letters and of the sciences. Who would doubt that he entered into friendly relations with the benefactor of his father? Everything at Seville turned Deza's thoughts back upon a cherished past. We know that he loved to recall his close and

* Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii., cited by M. F. Tarducci, *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo*, Milano, 1885, t. ii. p. 629, and P. Gaffarel, *Hist. de la Découverte de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1892, t. ii. p. 383.

† Ortiz de Zuñiga, *Anales*, *loc. cit.*

intimate relations with the discoverer of the Indies and the support which he had constantly lent him. Las Casas relates that it was of notoriety that the Archbishop was proud to tell how his interpositions had brought about the decision of the sovereigns to accept the projects of Columbus. "In a letter written by his own hand," says Las Casas, "I saw that Columbus told the King, that the master of the prince, the Archbishop of Seville, Don Friar Diego de Deza, was the cause of the sovereigns becoming possessed of the Indies. Long before I had seen that written testimony, in the Admiral's own hand, I learned that the Archbishop of Seville gloried in having caused the sovereigns to accept the enterprise of the discovery of the Indies." *

There is scarcely call to conclude. It is sufficiently seen if, at the end of our study, we have reason to write that Diego de Deza was the great protector of Columbus. Whilst there are many clear testimonials in the celebrated navigator's own hand, in favor of Deza, there is, besides that one sentence which at once limits the number of those who aided him and excludes all vain pretensions, not a word to substantiate the claims of any other patronage. All the world ridiculed Columbus, save two monks, who were always faithful. Those two religious—we know it beyond all dispute—were Diego de Deza and Antonio de Marchena. Both alike sympathized with the Genoese mariner; both were equally devoted to him; and, if, in view of the ultimate results of their protector, there was a marked difference between their influence and action, yet there was none in their noble wish to serve Columbus.

The venerable guardian of La Rabida knew Columbus

* "En carta escrita de su mano, de Cristobal Colon, vide que decia al rey (?) que el suso dicho maestro del principe, Arzobispo de Seville, D. Fray Diego de Deza, y el dicho camarero, Juan Cabrero, habian sido causa que los reyes tuvierssen las Indias. E muchos años antes que lo viese yo escrito de la letra del Almirante Colon, habia vido decir, que el dicho Arzobispo de Sevilla por si, y lo mismo el camarero, Juan Cabrero, se gloriaban que habian sido la causa de que los reyes aceptasen la dicha empresa y discubrimiento de las Indias."—*Hist. de las Indias*, t. i. p. 228. The title of Cabrero in this affair rests upon a countersense in the reading of Columbus' letter, bearing date Dec. 21, 1504.—Navarrete, *Coleccion*, t. i. p. 346.

during some six months preceding the departure of his client for the Indies. He was unable to sway the Commission of Santa Fé in a decision favorable to Columbus.* Deza, on the contrary, was on most intimate terms with the Admiral for twenty years. His high position at the Court enabled him, at various times, to render Columbus most signal assistance, and, above all, to gain the acceptance of his schemes of discovery. The patronages of Columbus are, then, strictly limited to two—those of Diego de Deza and Antonio de Marchena. We shall not here task the reader with further examinations of the alleged claims of some pretended protectors. It will for the time suffice us to lay down the assertion that, besides the principal influence and action of Deza, the study of which we have pursued to some length, and that of Antonio de Marchena, less important and more secondary, which we have barely mentioned, in order to maintain what is due to him, there is no other which can be verified as real. These, we believe, are the limits of the domain of history in this case, and we decline to overstep them and to commit ourselves to those of the arbitrary and of legend.†

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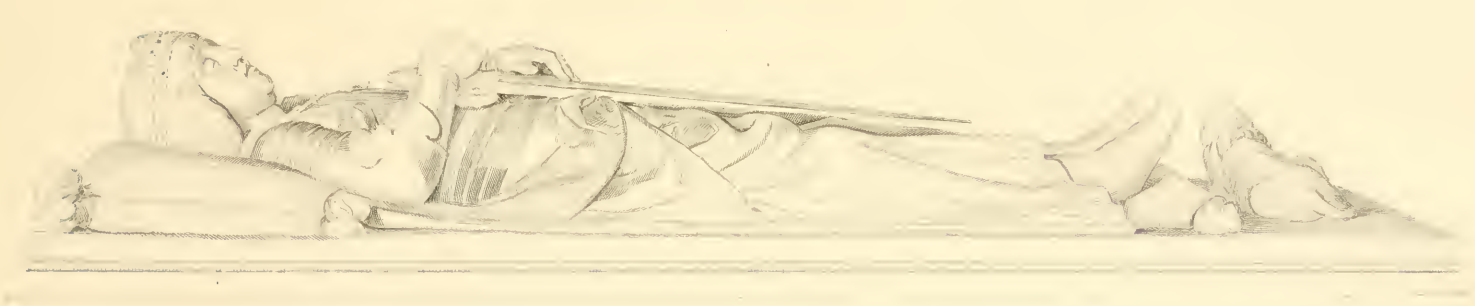
*"It was not then, at the end of the year 1484, but seven years later, in the beginning of the winter of 1491–1492, that Columbus for the first time repaired to the Monastery of La Rabida."

"It can no longer be said that he went there twice: once on arriving from Portugal in 1484; a second time when he was making preparations to leave Spain, in 1492."—Harrisse, *Christophe Colomb*, t. i. p. 348. These conclusions of M. Harrisse, based on the deposition of an eye-witness, appear to us to be certain.

†This paper is from the French MS. of the Rev. P. Mandonnet, O. P., Professor of History at the University of Friburg, Switzerland, who has in preparation several studies on the part taken by the Dominicans in the events relative to the discovery of America.

THE JESUIT PAPER.



FERDINAND, THE CATHOLIC.

From the recumbent statue upon the mausoleum in the Cathedral of Granada.

Ferdinand survived Isabella nearly ten years. The tomb in which his remains repose by the side of Isabella was erected by their grandson, Charles V. It is of white marble and adorned with richly sculptured figures of angels and saints, and is said to be the work of the celebrated artist, Philip of Burgundy. The effigies of the illustrious pair repose on the top, and their achievements are inscribed upon the tomb. A cast of the mausoleum will be found in the Gallery of Sculptures in the palace of Versailles. This engraving is from Gavard's Galeries Historiques de Versailles, Paris, 1843.

THE JESUIT MISSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY

REV. J. F. X. O'CONOR, S.J.

IN this necessarily brief account of the Jesuit Missions in the United States, it is intended to recall the fact that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus during the past two hundred and fifty years have visited or established missions in nearly every state of the Union. In almost every one of these states the Jesuit Fathers were the pioneer missionaries, explorers or settlers.

In the first hundred years from 1613, when Father Biard entered Maine, to 1776, they had traversed the states on the Atlantic Coast, from Maine to Florida, as well as those on the slope of the Pacific, while from 1776 to 1893 their missions have embraced every state of the interior, comprising the missions of Fr. De Smet in the Rocky Mountains, the Indian Territories, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and beyond, even to the remote regions of Alaska.

In the century before the Declaration of Independence they had visited the following states: Maine, and the region then under the jurisdiction of that State, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Mexico, California, Michigan, Wisconsin, Mississippi, Ohio, Louisiana, Illinois, and Missouri.

In the subsequent century from 1776 to 1892 the missions of the Society of Jesus under De Smet, Weninger, and Cataldo included the Pacific Slope and the states of the interior, Washington Territory and Oregon, Idaho, Colorado and Arizona, Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, and Alaska. It may be said, therefore, that there is not an extended portion of these

United States on the Atlantic Coast or the territories of the Pacific, whether among the recesses of the Rocky Mountains, in the region of the Mexican Gulf, the frozen plains of Alaska or the great Northern Lakes, that has not been a witness to the labors and sufferings of the missionaries of the Society of Jesus.

The first missions of which we have a record in those invaluable documents of early American history, the "Jesuit Relations"* and the "Lettres Edifiantes,"† are the missions of Maine. The missions in the North of the United States besides those in Maine among the Abnakis, were in Michigan and Ohio, as well as in Canada among the Hurons, in New York among the Iroquois, in Wisconsin and Michigan among the Ottawas, in Illinois among the Illinois Indians, and in the South, the missions of Louisiana.

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* The chief source of information in regard to the earlier days of the Jesuit Missions in America is the series of detailed reports written by the Fathers to their Superiors, and are known as the "Jesuit Relations." "In regard to the condition and primitive character of the inhabitants of North America it is impossible," says Parkman, "to exaggerate their value as an authority. The 'Relations' hold a high place as authentic and trustworthy historical documents." These invaluable documents of the early history of North America, reports sent by the Jesuit missionaries each year to their superiors, comprise the years 1632 to 1671-'72 in the volumes in this country. In that period 1632–1671, there are 45 volumes. Harvard Library has 40; 1632, 1654, 1658, 1659, 1665 are missing. J. C. Brown, Providence, R. I., has 38 vols.; Hon. H. C. Murphy, Brooklyn, has 29; Hon. N. C. Gallatin, N. C., has 22; Rev. M. Plante, Quebec, has 20; State Library, Albany, has 8. Other volumes are found in various institutions and private libraries. The new series published in 1858 in Quebec under the auspices of the Canadian Government and at its expense, besides the period beginning 1632, includes the "Relations" of 1611–1626 (Quebec, 1858), 1672–1679 (Paris, 1891).

† Lockman, the Protestant writer, in his extracts from the "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," written by the Jesuit Missionaries, says: "I believe it will be granted that no men are better qualified to describe nations and countries than the Jesuits. Their education, their extensive learning, the pains they take to acquire the languages of the several nations they visit, the opportunities they have by their skill in the arts and sciences, . . . the familiarity with the inhabitants, their mixing with and very often long abode amongst them—these, I say, must necessarily give our Jesuits a much more perfect insight into the genius and character of a nation than others who visit coasts only and that merely on account of traffic or other lucrative motives." ("Jesuit Travels," Introd.)

The first missionaries on American soil were those sent to Port Royal, the present Annapolis of Nova Scotia.* They were Father Peter Biard and Fr. Enemond Massé, who founded in the year 1612 the mission of St. Saviour on Mt. Desert Island, within the jurisdiction of Maine. To accomplish their mission they were furnished with a share in the cargo and vessel, the only conditions by which they could make their way to the colony. The gift of the vessel and the means was made by Madame Guercheville. During their stay they met with violent and unjust treatment from Biencourt, the commander of the Colony.

This colony at St. Saviour was surprised and broken up by Argal,† an Englishman, famous for fraud and injustice in Virginia. The two missionaries were carried to Virginia and finally sent back to France, where Fr. Biard died, while Fr. Massé returned and died in the Canadian missions of the Algonquins, on May 12th, 1646. The first Abnaki mission in Maine was thus destroyed through the malice of men who called themselves Christians. In the same year, 1646, Fr. Druillets‡ was sent to the Kennebec, while Fr. Jogues went to the Mohawk mission.

The Abnakis received the missionary with joy. They mourned his departure when upon the order of his superiors in the following May he returned to Quebec. In 1650 Fr. Jogues again returned as the envoy of the Governor of Canada. At Roxbury he met Elliot,§ who had devoted himself to the conversion of the Indians, and who invited him to pass the winter under his hospitable roof; but rest was not part of the Jesuit's life. In February he was again with his Indians.

After the first year's labor among the Indians, Fr. Druillets died in Quebec, at the age of eighty-eight, on April 8th, 1681.

The work of Fr. Druillets was carried on chiefly by Fathers Bigot and Rale.‖

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* "Relation" of Fr. Biard, 1611.

† Charlevoix, "Hist. Canada," vol. i. p. 214.

‡ "Relation" of 1646, p. 19.

§ Letter of Fr. Druillets, "Hist. Canada," Ferland, i. 393.

‖ "Relation" of Fr. James Bigot, 1684, p. 28.

In 1703 the later missions of Maine were transferred to the Jesuits, having been under the Fathers of Foreign Missions, Frs. Henry Gaulin and Rageot. New England had condemned the Catholic Missionaries to imprisonment for life, and yet sought their aid with the Abnakis to obtain neutrality in the war of 1703 between England and France. The Governor, wishing to gain over the Abnakis, offered to build them a church if they would send away the missionaries. The indignant Indian chief replied: "When you first came here, you saw me, long before the French Governors, but neither you, nor your ministers ever spoke to me of prayer or of the Great Spirit. They saw my furs, my beaver skins, and about these alone they were anxious, these alone they sought, and so eagerly that I have not been able to supply them enough. Though I were loaded with furs, the black gown of France disdained to look at them. He spoke to me of the Great Spirit, of heaven, of hell, of prayer, which is the only way to reach heaven. Keep your gold and your minister," he concluded, "I will go to my French Father." And the Indian asked the black gown for baptism.

The English had determined on the death of Fr. Rale.* In August, 1724, English and Mohawks burst upon his mission. The missionary was the first to appear at the sound of the alarm. He had been warned of the enemy's design —but now came forward to sacrifice his own life to save his flock. No sooner had he reached the mission cross than a shout arose, and a volley of bullets laid him dead at the foot of the symbol of Redemption.† His Abnakis buried the body of their beloved missionary amid the ruins of the church where he had so often stood at the altar.

Among the missionaries, Fr. Rale will rank as one of the greatest. He was learned, zealous, laborious, careful of his flock, desirous of martyrdom. His Abnaki‡ dictionary, written

* Bancroft, "Hist. U. S.," ii. 941.

† Bancroft, "Hist. U. S.," ii. 944.

‡ Bancroft, "Hist. U. S.," ii. 940. Fr. Rale died at the village of Norridgewock (Charlevoix, "Hist. of Canada," iv. 120, 121). He was sixty-seven

in 1691, is preserved as a treasure at Harvard Library, and was published in the memoirs of the American Academy in 1833.

It was the faith and zeal of the Marchioness of Guercheville, as we have seen, that aided the Jesuits in founding their mission in 1612 at St. Saviour on Mt. Desert Island off the coast of Maine. At the same period other missions were founded in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

Bancroft, speaking of the magnificent labors of the Fathers, says: "Thus did the religious zeal of the French bear the cross to the banks of the St. Mary and the confines of Lake Superior, and look wistfully towards the homes of the Sioux in the valley of the Mississippi, five years before the New England Elliot had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston Harbor."

The organizing of missionary work among the Indians of Maine had not been unnoticed by the authorities of Massachusetts, who claimed jurisdiction over Maine. In 1698 the commissioners of the Bay Colony wished the Indians of Norridgewock and Androscoggin to dismiss the missionaries, but the Indians replied: "The good missionaries must not be driven away."

In 1699 Fr. Vincent Bigot, who had been stationed in Maine on the Kennebec at Narantsouac,* through illness, was obliged to go to Quebec, but his brother, James, immediately took his place. The Chapel at Narantsouac had been erected in 1698 at Indian Old Point.

The New England authorities treating with the Abnakis, ordered them to send away the three Jesuit Fathers and receive Protestant ministers from New England. The Indians would not listen to such a proposal, and said to the English envoy: "You are too late in undertaking to instruct us in prayer after all the years we have been

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years of age; he spent thirty-seven years among the Indians, and of these twenty-eight were passed at Norridgewock. (Bonial, Charlevoix, vol. iv. 122.)

*"Jesuit Relations," 1652, p. 54.

known to you. The Frenchman was wiser than you. As soon as we knew him he taught us to pray to God properly, and now we pray better than you."

Massachusetts claimed all Maine as English territory, but the settlement of New England on Indian ground without regard to the claims of the Abnakis was resented by the Indians, who were encouraged by the French government to prevent English settlement on their lands. In 1704–5 Massachusetts sent out two expeditions. One devastated the Penobscot. The other, under Colonel Hilton, destroyed the Indian wigwams, burnt the church, vestry, and residence of the missionary, pillaged and profaned everything that Catholics revere.

Father Lauverjat was in charge of the Indians at Panawamske in 1727. After a time Frs. Lauverjat and Syresme retired from the mission, but Fr. Charles Germain, whose mission was on the St. John's River, still said mass for the Indians on the Kennebec and Penobscot, and he may be considered the last of the missionaries who planted the faith so firmly in the hearts of the Algonquins that the privations of priest and altar as well as the enticements of prosperity and error could not lure them from it.

The first missions in Maine began in 1613, and were carried on at every sacrifice until 1727.

Fr. Gabriel Druillets, who had already founded a mission among the Abnakis, returned to them in 1650. He was sent thence in a new character with letters from the Canadian Governor to the authorities in New England, to offer free intercolonial trade and to insure mutual protection against the Iroquois.

At Norridgewock he was received with rapture by the Indians. The chief cried out: "I see well that the Great Spirit who rules in the heavens vouchsafes to look on us with favor, since he sends our patriarch back to us." Forwarding letters from the English port to announce the nature of his commission, in November he set out for Boston with Noel Negataurat, chief of Sillery, and John Winslow, whom the missionary calls his Pereira, alluding to the friend of St. Francis Xavier.

At Boston Major-General Gibbons received him with courtesy. Fr. Druillets says: "He gave me the key of a room in his house where I could, in all liberty, say my prayers and perform the exercises of my religion."* As he naturally had his chapel service, it may reasonably be inferred that Fr. Druillets said mass in Boston in December, 1650. After a reply from the Governor, and presenting his case to the leading men, he returned to his labors.

The commissioners of New England met at New Haven,† Conn., and Fr. Druillets was sent formally as an envoy from Canada with Mr. Godfrey. It is a curious episode that a priest should visit New England in an official capacity where Christian civilization had made a law expelling every Jesuit, and dooming him to the gallows if he returned. After his diplomatic functions at Boston and New Haven, Fr. Druillets returned to his flock on the Kennebec, and some time later went to Quebec.

From Connecticut we follow the work of the missionaries to New York.

The first priest to enter the borders of the State of New York, and the first priest that came to the Island of Manhattan, was Father Isaac Jogues. In 1642 he was taken prisoner by the Iroquois. In his captivity he was beaten with clubs and stones, his finger nails were pulled out, and the index finger of both hands eaten off. He was forced to carry heavy burdens in a march of five weeks, and then his right thumb was cut off by an Algonquin woman, a Christian, at the order of the Iroquois, and René Goupil, a lay brother, who accompanied Father Jogues, was killed by a blow from a hatchet.

Arendt Van Cuyder aided Father Jogues to escape from the enraged Mohawks, and the Dutch protected him.

After a long and terrible captivity Father Jogues escaped and was taken to the foot of Manhattan Island, where there were a few cabins, the beginning of the great city of New York. In New Amsterdam he met with the

* "Hist. Canada," Ferland, i. p. 392.

† Connecticut is called "Kunateguk." (Letter of Fr. Druillets, "Hist. Canada," Ferland, i. 393.)

greatest sympathy for his sufferings from the Director, William Kuyf, and from the minister, Dominie Megapolensis. His passage was secured by Hoyt to Holland, but trials were in store for him. In the storm the vessel met with on the way, it was driven on the English coast. Father Jogues arrived home in time to celebrate Christmas. The future State of New York had been traversed by a great and heroic priest, and another was soon to follow the same line of suffering.

Father Jogues, after his tortures, arrived in France, where he was honored as a martyr. On asking permission of the Sovereign Pontiff to say Mass with his mutilated hands, it was given in words ever to be remembered: "*Indignum esset Christi martyrem, Christi non bibere sanguinem*" (It were not fitting that Christ's martyr should not drink the blood of Christ).

Queen Anne of Austria wished to see him, and when conducted to her presence she kissed his mutilated hands, while the ladies of the court crowded around to do him homage.

He returned to Montreal in the spring of 1644, and in 1646, passing through the Mohawk country, came to Lake George, which he named Lac du St. Sacrament, because he reached it on the eve of Corpus Christi. In the same year, 1644, Fr. Bressani was taken captive. His hands were cut open, he was stabbed and burned no fewer than eighteen times. A stake was driven through his foot, and his hair and beard torn out by the roots. He escaped, and reached Europe November 16, 1644.

In his mission of peace to the Mohawks, Father Jogues, who once more renewed his labors among his loved Indians, in company with John De Lande, fell into the hands of a band of warriors, and they were led as prisoners to Ossernenon in October, 1646. An Indian summoned him to a session of the Council. As he entered a cabin he was struck lifeless by a blow from a tomahawk. His body was thrown into the Mohawk, and his head set on one of the palisades of Ossernenon. The next morning the river bore away the bodies of his companions, De Lande and the Huron guide.

This was the first attempt to evangelize in the State of New York. In the minds of all Father Jogues was honored as a martyr. In the devotion to him that has become general, the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore petitioned that the cause of his canonization should be introduced. There is now a chapel at Auriesville, the site of Ossernenon, and this shrine has already become a place of pilgrimage.

From the year 1632 to 1642 the Huron Missions were evangelized by Frs. Le Jeune, Breboeuf, Daniel, and Daust. Chief among them was Breboeuf. "He was," as Parkman pictures him, "the masculine apostle of the faith—the Ajax of the mission. Nature had given him all the passions of a vigorous manhood, and religion had crushed them, curbed them or tamed them to do her work—liked a dammed up torrent sluiced and guided to grind and saw and weave for the good of man." Fr. Breboeuf visited the Neutral nation, whose settlement was in the western part of New York.*

On the 16th of March, being captured by the Iroquois, Fr. Breboeuf and his companions were led to torture. Fr. Breboeuf was bound to a stake, but seemed more anxious for the captive converts than for himself, and exhorted them in a loud voice to suffer patiently for heaven.

The enraged Iroquois burned him with fire from head to foot, cut away his lower lip and jaw, and thrust a red-hot iron down his throat. He gave no sign or sound of pain.

They placed Father Lalemant where Breboeuf could see him, with a strip of bark around his naked body. When Lalemant† saw the condition of his superior, he cried out. "We are made a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men," and threw himself at Breboeuf's feet. The Indians

* "Jesuit Relation," 1641, p. 71. Breboeuf visits the Neuter nation east of the Niagara River, N. Y. State, with Father Chaumonot. Founding of the mission of the Angels.—Relation of Father Jerome Lalemant, who was sent from the residence of St. Mary among the Hurons, May 19, 1641, to Sonnontouon. The nation of the Iroquois was one day's journey from the last village of the Neuter nation in the East named Onguiaohra (Niagara), the same name as the river.—"Relation," 1641, p. 75.

† "Relation," 1648, p. 49. Bressani, "Abridged Relation."

then seized him, fastened him to a stake and set fire to the bark. On Father Breboeuf they placed a collar of red-hot hatchets, but he moved not an inch. They baptized him with hot water in mockery, and cut strips of flesh from his limbs and devoured them before his eyes. They said in mockery: "You told us that sufferings on earth make one happy in heaven; we wish to make you happy; we torment you because we love you; you ought to thank us for it." After revolting tortures they laid open his breast, drank his blood, and the chief tore out his heart and devoured it. Thus died Jean De Breboeuf, the founder of the Huron mission. Lalemant was tortured all night, and the Indians, weary of their cruel sport, in the morning killed him with a blow of their hatchet. Breboeuf had lived four hours under torture; Lalemant seventeen.

New York had been visited by the French Jesuits in 1642. About forty years later it was again visited by the English Jesuits, in 1683, who bravely followed in the footsteps of their French brethren. Father Thomas Hervey, one of the English Fathers, embarked with Governor Dongan in the gunboat Warrick, and arrived at Nantasket in August, 1683, and journeying overland with the Governor, reached New York before the end of August. There is good ground for believing that Father Forster Gulick, Superior of the Maryland Jesuits, was then ready to receive him, as a baptism at Woodbridge, N. J., in 1683, is recorded, showing the presence of a priest. Concerning this mission of the English Fathers we have an interesting record.

The English Provincial, Fr. Warner, writing to the General of the Order, says, Feb. 26th, 1683: "Father Thomas Hervey,* the missionary passes to New York by consent of the Governor of the colony. In that colony is a respectable city (*i.e.*, N. Y.) fit for the foundation of a college, if faculties are given, to which college those who are scattered throughout Maryland may betake themselves and make excursions thence into Maryland. The Duke of York, the lord of that colony, greatly encourages the undertaking of a

* "Foley Records of the English Province," vii. p. 343.

new mission. He did not consent to Father Thomas Hervey's sailing, until he had advised with the provincial, the consultors and other grave Fathers." Father Henry Harrison and Father Charles Gage, with two lay brothers, joined Fr. Hervey in New York. Father Henry Harrison, although of an English family, was born in the Netherlands, and it was considered on that account he would be able to do more good among the Dutch. The Catholic chapel was in Fort James, south of Bowling Green, and this may be considered the place where Mass was first regularly said in New York. The first Latin school in New York was established by the Jesuit Fathers in 1683 on the property leased by Governor Fletcher to Trinity Church.*

In 1683 the Latin school was attended by the sons of Judges Palmer and Graham, Captain Tudor and others. The bell that summoned the pupils to the Jesuit school was the bell of the Dutch Church† in the Fort. Another school, called the "New York Literary Institute," was founded in 1809 on the ground where the New York Cathedral now stands.

The first legislative assembly convened in New York was that called by the Catholic Governor Dongan on October 17th, 1683. The Bill of Rights was passed on the 30th. The spirit of this bill was probably suggested by the spiritual adviser of the Governor, the Jesuit Father Henry Harrison. Like the bill of Religious Rights and Freedom under Lord Baltimore, in Maryland, when the Jesuit Fr. Andrew White was one of his counsellors, it declared that religious freedom is recognized, and "no person or persons who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall at any time be any ways molested, punished, disquieted or called in question for any difference of opinion or matter of religious concernment, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the province." "The Christian churches of the province (the Catholic Church was one) are held and reputed as privileged churches and enjoy all their former freedom of their religion in divine worship and church discipline." These paragraphs

* "New York Colonial Documents," iv. p. 490.

† Brodhead, ii. p. 487.

embodied in the United States Constitution are indirectly traceable to the Fathers.

During the brief reign of James II. no favorable movement for the Church took place. The fanatic Governor Leisler persecuted the Catholics, and in particular the Jesuits Hervey and Harrison. Fr. Hervey was obliged to abandon the mission of New York for a time. He returned to New York on foot with another Father and remained in the New York mission for some years, and died in Maryland. Fr. Harrison returned to Ireland by way of France.

The first Vicar General of the Church of the United States was the Jesuit Father Jerome Lalemant. In 1647 Fr. Jerome Lalemant, S.J., the Jesuit Missionary, was made Vicar General to the Most Rev. Francis De Harlay, Archbishop of Rouen, who had jurisdiction over the French Missions, which starting in Canada spread through the United States. As the Church increased throughout Maine, New York, Michigan and Wisconsin, the see of Rouen was recognized until the formation of a colony into a Vicariate.*

About this time the Iroquois were making negotiations for peace. The Onondagas proposed conditions which were received by the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Mohawks, so that all but the Senecas were in accord. When the treaty was concluded it was necessary to have it ratified, according to the Iroquois custom. The envoy was to undertake the task which cost Fr. Jogues his life. A Jesuit was ready for the post of danger, and Fr. Simon Le Moyne, who had succeeded to the Indian name of Isaac Jogues, set out in July, 1654, and, sailing along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, baptized several Hurons, heard many confessions, and reached the Onondaga fort, where he was warmly welcomed. Fr. Le Moyne opened the solemn council with prayer in the Huron tongue, intelligible to the Iroquois. He delivered nineteen presents, symbolic of so many propositions.

In reply, the Onondaga sachems urged him to settle on the banks of the lake, and they confirmed the peace. Fr.

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* Faillon, "Hist. de la Colonie Fçse.," i. p. 280.

Le Moyne returned with two precious relics, the New Testament that had belonged to Fr. Breboeuf and the prayer-book of Fr. Charles Garnier, both put to death by the Iroquois. His favorable report filled the colony with joy.

The next step was to plant Christianity and civilization at Onondaga, and Frs. Joseph Chaumonot and Claude Dablon were received in pomp on the 5th of November by the sachems of the Onondagas and conducted to the cabin prepared for them. As it was Friday, they would not eat meat, but it was replaced by beaver and fish. The Indians told Fr. Chaumonot that the most pleasing news they could send to the Governor of Canada was, that they would provide as soon as possible for the chapel of the believers. The Fathers remained for some time caring for the sick, and they also visited the salt springs near Lake Ganentaa, near the present city of Syracuse, which had been selected as the site of the settlement.

St. Mary's of Ganentaa was on the north side of Lake Onondaga in Onondaga County. The Onondaga village, where the chapel was erected, was twelve miles distant, two miles south of the present village of Manlius, south of Oneida Lake and east of Syracuse. Fr. Le Moyne's account of the discovery of the salt springs was dubbed by the colonists a "Jesuit's lie." The profitable salt mines of Syracuse to-day prove the absolute truth of that Jesuit lie.*

Fr. Chaumonot's eloquent address on faith was the first presentation of the Christian religion to the Five Nations at their council fire. It was listened to with great attention, interrupted only by the applauding cries of the sachems and chiefs. How favorably it impressed them is seen by the fact that the very wampum belt of Fr. Chaumonot is still preserved among the treasures of the Iroquois League at Onondaga. In its picture writing, it symbolizes in wampum —man, led to the cross of Christ.

On the 17th of March, 1656, Fr. Le Moyne† established peace with the Mohawks, conferred baptism on captive

* Dablon, "Circular Letter, 1693"; Creuxis, "Relations," 1639–1697.

† 1656–7, "Journal des Jesuites."

Christians and visited the Dutch settlement, and although received with courtesy, his account of the Salt Springs was doubted by the minister. When the church was dedicating the grand Temple of St. Peter's at Rome a bark chapel arose in the wilderness of Onondaga, consecrated to the patron of the missions, doubtless St. John the Baptist, the first chapel on the soil of New York. The chapel was too small. Reinforcements came with fifty Frenchmen under Mr. Dupuis with Fr. Dablon, Frs. René Ménard and James Fremin, priests of the Society of Jesus, and two lay brothers. Setting out on the 11th of July, by the end of August they had reared a regular chapel in the village of Onondaga more solid and larger than the chapel built the year before. In August, 1656, Frs. Chaumonot and Ménard visited Cayuga, Gandagan, a Seneca town, and in spite of the foretold danger, preached to the people at Oneida.

The Onondaga mission was so flourishing that they had three Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin, one Onondaga, one Huron and one of the Neutral Nation.

All this time the lives of the missionaries hung by a thread. While Fr. Chaumonot was coming from Canada to Onondaga with a party of Hurons, nearly all were slain by the Onondagas, and although the missionary and lay brother reached Onondaga alive, they felt they were prisoners. The Mohawks and Oneidas roused the Onondagas to hostility against the French, and while Fr. Le Moyne was on the Mohawk, and the French and missionaries at Onondaga, the Oneidas slew and scalped three of the colony near Montreal. The French settlers now thought only of escaping from their perilous position. They gave a great banquet, and when the sated Indians were asleep made their way down the Oswego to the lake and finally reached Quebec. This was the first Catholic settlement in New York, lasting from 1655 to 1658, which had built chapels in the Onondaga towns and among the Cayugas. In 1661 there were Catholics in Maine, on the Kennebec and Penobscot, by the shore of Lake Onondaga in New York, and in wigwams of the Senecas, south of Lake Ontario and east of Lake Erie.

At the Synod of the clergy of New York held at Onon-

daga August 26th, 1670, were assembled Frs. Fremin from Seneca, Carheil from Cayuga, Fr. Bruyas from Oneida, and Fr. Pierron from the Mohawk.

It was Father James de Lamberville* who had the consolation of finding at Gandagan the flower of Indian sanctity, Catherine Tega Kouita, niece of an hostile chieftain, and daughter of a Christian Algonquin woman. She was a lily of purity, and longed to be a Christian, but her shyness prevented her from addressing the missionary. But he, seeing the gifts with which she was endowed, invited her to the instructions at the chapel. Learning the catechism and attending faithfully to the exercise she was solemnly baptized on Easter, 1675, receiving the name of Catherine. "The Holy Ghost," says Fr. Chauchetière, "directed her interiorly in all things, so that she pleased God and man, for the most wicked admired her, and the good found matter for imitation in her."

In the years from 1668 to 1678 the labors of the Fathers among the Five Nations resulted in 2,221 baptisms.

The most important missions besides those in Maine and New York State were those in the State of Maryland. It was in 1634 that the Jesuits began their first mission in Maryland when the Ark and the Dove† with the memorable colony of Lord Baltimore, accompanied by Father Andrew White, entered the Chesapeake, and where on the Feast of the Annunciation, 1634, Mass was said at St. Clement's Island, Maryland. At the town of St. Mary's an Indian village was taken possession of and one of the houses of bark was transferred into a Jesuit chapel.

Thus began the city of St. Mary's, March 27th, 1634. "St. Mary's," says Davis, "was the home, the chosen home of the disciples of the Roman Church. The fact has been generally received. It has been sustained by the traditions of two hundred years and by volumes of written testimony, by the records of the courts, by the proceedings of the privy council, by the trial of law cases, by the wills and

* Chauchetière, "Vie de Catherine Tega Kouita," N. Y., 1886.

† "Relatio Itineris" of Father Andrew White.

inventories, by the land records and rent rolls, and by the very names originally given to the towns and hamlets, to the creeks and rivulets, to the tracts and manors of the country. We mention St. Mary's City, St. Gregory's Point, St. Michael's Point, St. Thomas's, St. Inigoes."

In 1632, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, having received a charter for the colonization of Maryland, began to gather round him those who were to form the new province. As the colonists were both Catholics and Protestants, each was left free to take its own clergymen. The Protestant colonists took no minister with them for several years after the colonies began. Lord Baltimore applied to the Jesuit General for Fathers for the English Catholics, but could offer the clergy no support, either from the non-Catholics, or from the Catholics or from the savages.

The Jesuits did not shrink from a mission that presented such hardships. Other missionaries continued their labors, Fr. John Brock at St. Inigoes, Fr. Altham at Kent Island and Fr. Philip Fisher at the chapel of St. Mary's. Fr. Andrew White after his first labors moved to the new field one hundred and twenty miles from St. Mary's, and planted the cross at Kittamigundi, about fifteen miles south of Washington. Father Altham died of fever in 1640, and Father Brock followed him, after teaching the faith to the tribe of Indians destined to be brought into the true fold by the heroic trials of his life. A letter written by him shortly before his death shows the spirit of these missionaries. When there was question of their recall, or of not receiving new help on the missions, he said: "In whatever manner it may seem good to his Divine Majesty to dispose of us, may His holy will be done. But as far as in me lies, I would rather labor in the conversion of the Indians, expiring on the bare ground deprived of all human succor and perishing with hunger, than think of abandoning this holy work of God from the fear of want. May God grant me the grace to render Him some service, and all the rest I leave to Divine Providence."

Ingle, a pirate, having become a zealous Puritan, began the persecution of the Catholics, and Fathers White and

Copley were sent loaded with irons as criminals to England. Fr. Hartwell escaped the persecutors, and Fr. Roger Rigby and John Cooper escaped to Virginia. This was the first period of the Maryland mission. Catholicity had been planted in the colony, they had cared for the Indians along the Potomac, so that nearly all the Indians of these two peninsulas from the Potomac to the Piscataway, and from the Patuxent to the Mattapony were thoroughly instructed in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Five of the priests had laid down their lives in the short space of two years, and two were sent to trial in chains. These splendid missions of Maryland have been so frequently written about that it would be needless to recount the details of the works that have given material for volumes. It will be sufficient here to refer to one more fact, that the first bishops of the United States were Jesuit Fathers. Father Carroll's friendship with the framers of the Declaration of Independence as well as his diplomatic mission to Canada with Franklin and Chase in the interest of the colonies are worth noting in the history of the Church in connection with the Government of our country.

From New York and Maryland, the course of events brings us to the States of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

In 1743 Fr. Schneider crossed into New Jersey and administered baptism there near Salem. Before the end of the summer of that year he was giving missions near Bound Brook.

It is probable that some Jesuit visited Pennsylvania in the early days of the colony. This visit would explain the absurd report that "William Penn was dead and died a Jesuit." In August, 1683, Penn writes: "I find some persons have had so little wisdom and so much malice as to report my death, and to mend the matter, dead, and a Jesuit, too. I am still alive, and no Jesuit." The visit of a reputed priest to Penn when ill, would give rise to such stories.

During the last part of the reign of Charles II., Fr. Michael Forster continued the work of the mission. He had with him Fr. Francis Pennington. The first permanent mission was in 1733, when Rev. Mr. Crayton, a priest of the Order of Jesuits, purchased lots near Fourth Street,

Philadelphia, between Walnut and Willing's Alley, and erected thereon a small chapel dedicated to St. Joseph, which has since been enlarged, the now famous St. Joseph's Church of Willing's Alley. In 1757, under the care of four Fathers, Robert Harding, Theodore Schneider, Ferdinand Farmer and Matthias Manners, there were in all 1365 Catholics. The mission stations attended from this centre were several stations in Maryland, among them Frederick, and St. Joseph's, Philadelphia; Goshenhoppen, Lancaster, and Conewago in the state itself.

After glancing at the three great periods of the missions in Maine, New York, and Maryland, we resume our tracing of the progress of the missions in Virginia, down the coast to Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida.

Although the French missionary, Fr. Pierron, had visited Virginia in 1674, missionaries to Virginia had been sent from the Spanish mission of Florida as early as 1568. Philip II. had asked St. Francis Borgia, the general of the Jesuits, to send twenty-four of his religious to found this Florida mission. He chose Fr. Peter Martinez, Fr. John Rogel, and Brother Francis de Vilareal. On the way to Havana Fr. Martinez landed, and while journeying to the Spanish port was slain by the Indians at Tacatacurn, New Cumberland, not far from the mouth of the St. John's River. Fr. Rogel* remained at Havana and studied the language of the Indians of Southern Florida. He remained as Chaplain until 1568, when Fr. John Baptist Segura, S.J.,† came with nine missionaries to Florida. Fr. Ledeno with Brother Baez went to Guale, now Amelia Island, and he may be regarded as the pioneer priest of Georgia. Here Fr. Baez prepared a grammar and a catechism for the instruction of Indian neophytes. Fr. Rogel in 1569 repaired to the port of St. Helena, or Port Royal Harbor, and thus became the first resident priest in South Carolina.

In spite of meagre results from their labors, the missionaries continued their toil in Florida. In 1570 Fr. Segura

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* Tanner, "Societas militans," p. 445.

† Tanner, "Societas militans," p. 447.

resolved to found a new mission with Fr. Luis de Quiros and Brothers Solis, Mendez, Redorido, Linares, Gabriel Gomez and Sanchez Zerallos. They sailed from St. Helena August 5th, 1570, to St. Mary's Bay, and ascended the Potomac. On the 12th of August they were on the Rappahannock and settled there until February. Deserted by the vessel and by the Indian guide, Don Luis de Velasco, Fr. Quiros with Solis and Mendez set out to urge Velasco to return. Instead of returning according to their wishes, Velasco with a number of Indians attacked the party and slew them with arrows. The traitors then attacked the settlement and slew Fr. Segura with the implements that had been surrendered. The first martyrs on the soil of Virginia were the Jesuit missionaries.

In 1743, other Spanish missionaries, among them the Jesuit Fathers Joseph Mary Umaco and Joseph Xavier de Mana, sailed from Havana to found a mission in Southern Florida. A Catholic mission was founded, and the Indians kept their faith till the Seminole War, when they were transported to Indian territory.

While the tide of time was carrying his Jesuit brethren along the shores of the Atlantic, by the Gulf of Mexico, and along the Pacific Ocean, the tide of the great inland rivers brought the illustrious Father Marquette out on the broad bosom of the Mississippi, and crowned him with the glory of being its discoverer.

In the "Jesuit Relations" sent by Fr. Dablon, Superior of the missions of the Jesuits, from Quebec in 1673–1674, we read the following account of the discovery:

"At Ouatouiais,* M. Jolliet joined Fr. Marquette,† who was awaiting him there, and who had contemplated the enterprise for some time, as they had planned together about it. They started with five other Frenchmen in June, 1613, to enter a country where no other Europeans had ever set foot. Starting from the Bay of "Puants," 43° 40′, they sailed one hundred and eighty miles on a little river, very sweet and very pleasant towards the west and southwest.

* Ouatouiais = Ottawa.

† "Jesuit Relations," 1673–1674; "Relations Inédites," i. pp. 193–204, ii. p. 239–329.

They found the portage they wished, about a mile and a half in width, by which they passed to another river coming from the northwest, and having travelled one hundred and twenty miles to the southwest, on the 15th of June they found themselves at latitude forty-two degrees and a half, and entered happily the famous river which the Iroquois called the Mississippi, which means "great river." It comes, according to the Iroquois, from the very far north. It is beautiful, and for the most part a quarter of a league wide. It is much larger in those places where it is cut by islands, which, however, are rare."

The dream of Fr. Marquette's life was accomplished. He had reached the greatest of the western rivers, and named it the Immaculate Conception. He sailed down it for one week, until he came upon Indian trails, which along the shore he followed till he came to the village. Fr. Marquette greeted the inhabitants, and asked who they were. "We are the Illinois," they replied. He was escorted to a cabin where an aged Indian welcomed them, saying, "How beautiful is the sun, O Frenchmen, when thou comest to visit us! All our town awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace."

Warned of the danger of going on in their perilous journey, they were not deterred. On they sailed, passing the Ohio River, the Missouri, on into the land of the Senecas. Near the Arkansas River they were surrounded by the Metchigenicas. When their mission was made known, they were kindly received, and referred to the Arkansas Indians. The great question was here solved, and it was made certain that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico.

On the 17th of July they paddled back to the Illinois River, and, ascending it, they reached Lake Michigan, and arrived at Green Bay in September.

In 1674 Fr. Marquette started for a mission among the Kaskaskias, and founded a mission among the Illinois in 1675. Here, growing seriously ill, he started for Lake Michigan, but perceiving that he could not reach the mission, he landed and prepared for death. Calling around him his attendants, with the names of Jesus and Mary on his

lips, he expired about midnight, May 19th, 1675. His remains, which had been placed in the church at Michili Mackinac, were discovered by Fr. Edward Jacker, in 1877, at Point St. Ignace.

Not only in the Northwest and Central States, but in the far western plains of Arizona we find the great work of the missions flourishing. And extraordinary as were the labors of Frs. Marquette, White, Fremin, Bruyas and Druillets, those of Fr. Eusebius Kuhn or Kino stand with the Franciscan missionary, Ven. Anthony Margil, as the greatest who have labored in this country.*

Clavigero, in his history, tells us that Father Kino travelled more than twenty thousand miles, and baptized more than forty-eight thousand infants and adults. He learned the Indian languages, translated their catechisms, formed vocabularies for his successors, built houses and chapels, founded missions and towns, and reconciled natives. In Upper Pimeria he had 176 houses. After untold labors, he died in 1711. In 1731, three Jesuit Fathers came to the mission of San Xavier del Bac, Ignatius X. Keler, Fr. John Bap. Grashofer and Fr. Philip Segener. In 1744, Fr. Keler had baptized more than two thousand, and had one thousand brave, industrious Pimas, who possessed well-tilled fields with herds and flocks.

It was the revival in the territory of the United States of the great achievements of the Reductions of Paraguay in South America.

These missions of Arizona and lower California were begun by the Spanish Jesuit Fathers, and only when they were recalled by the Spanish government did they leave their work to be carried on by Father Junipero Serra, O.S.F., in upper California, who, by the systematic provision of the Fathers, was enabled to continue with marvellous success those great missions that have been productive of such glory to God.

Ascending the Pacific Slope from the Spanish missions we reach the territory that is now lower California. The Jesuits

* Verregas, "Hist. California," i. 188; Clavigero, "Hist. of California," ii. 176.

first entered California on February 5th, 1697. There Fr. John Maria Salvatierra began the famous missions of lower California, and with the co-operation of the glorious co-workers, Fathers Kino, Ugarte, and Brau, pushed their work northward to the southern boundary of the present State of California.

Nearly one hundred years later, in 1768, Fr. Junipero Serra, the great Franciscan missionary, celebrated for his heroic labors in California, succeeded to the work, when the Society of Jesus, extinguished in the Spanish Dominions, was forced to withdraw from the fields of their labors which they had undertaken with such hardships and toil, and carried forward with such marvellous success.

The missions in California were again resumed by the Jesuit Fathers in 1850. The founders of this new mission were Frs. Accolti and Nobili, who had been Indian missionaries with Fr. De Smedt in the Rocky Mountains and in Oregon and among the Indians on the Columbia River.

The first council of Baltimore in 1829 in its fifth decree asked the Holy See that the Indians dwelling beyond the limits of fixed dioceses in the United States should be confided to the care of the Society of Jesus.

The Propaganda solemnly approved this decree, and this homage of the American hierarchy to the Society of Jesus was a new tribute to their zeal, and a testimony that the work of the Jesuits was not confined to the glorious missions of China, Japan, India, and South America, but that their zeal had borne fruit worthy of their ancestors among the native tribes of the United States. It would take too long to follow these Indian missions of the interior of the United States. The memory of the Apostolic work of Fr. De Smedt among the Indians on the reservations, his travels through the whole of the interior, his dwelling among the red-men, his influence in peace and war; their veneration and love for the black gown—these details have filled volumes, and are fresh in the minds of all. The testimony of travellers and statesmen alike unite in giving evidence of the unparalleled work of the Jesuits among the Indians. The work of Fr. De Smedt in the interior has been nobly imita-

ted by the Rocky Mountain missionaries as well as by the newly founded mission of Alaska. All these works carried on up to our own days, and going back more than two centuries, show the untiring zeal that has been exercised on these missions.

To take at random some of the work of recent years we need only mention that in 1842 in Montana, there were among the Indians 16,500 confessions, 15,000 communions, 125 baptisms; and in Idaho and Washington Territory, 15,500 confessions, 12,800 communions, and 166 baptisms.

During this period of two centuries of the Jesuit missions, the history of which reads as a page of thrilling interest, many laid down their lives for their work. The Jesuits who were put to death within the present limits of the United States were nineteen in number.

The list is as follows:

Fr. Peter Martinez, who was killed by the Indians near St. Augustine, Fla., on Sept. 28, 1566. He was born at Calda in Spain, on Oct. 15, 1533.

Father Louis de Quiros, a Spaniard, Bros. Gabriel de Solis, John Baptist Mendez, an Indian novice, were massacred by the Indians near the Rappahannock, Virginia, February 3, 1571.

Fr. John Baptist de Segura, of Toledo, Bros. Gabriel Gomez, Peter de Linares, Sancho Zevallos, Spaniards, and Christopher Rodundo, an Indian novice, were massacred by the Indians on the banks of the Rappahannock, Virginia, February 8, 1571.

Brother Gilbert du Thet, killed by the English, who were making an attack on Fort St. Saviour, Mt. Desert Island, Maine, December, 1613.

Bro. René Goupil, born in Augin, put to death by the Iroquois in the Mohawk Valley near Albany, N. Y., Sept. 29, 1642.

Fr. Isaac Jogues, put to death by the Iroquois near Auriesville station, on the West Shore Railroad, not far from Albany, N. Y., October 16, 1646.

Fr. Sebastian Rale, put to death by the English colonists at Norridgewock, Maine, August 23, 1724.

Fr. Paul du Poisson, of Champagne, killed by the Natchez tribe, Mississippi, November 28, 1729, at Natchez.

Fr. John De Smedt, Province of Champagne, killed by the Yazoo tribe, Mississippi, not far from Vicksburg, December 11, 1729.

Fr. Peter Aulneau, Province of France, killed by the Sioux, at Lake of the Woods, Minnesota, June 6, 1763.

Fr. Anthony Henat, Province of France, put to death by the Chicksaws, Mississippi, Pentotoc County, March 26, 1736.

Fr. John Deguerre, killed by the Illinois Indians, date unknown.

Fr. Claude Virot, killed by the Iroquois in the Genesee Valley, New York, July, 1759.

Thus by their blood have the members of the Society of Jesus proved their love for their country, that for nearly two centuries and a half has been the witness of their noble lives, their unceasing labors and their heroic deaths. Not only by toil in the forest and by the sea, on the river and on the prairie, but in the heart of our great cities, where disease and misery and woe have found a dwelling, there will be found the Jesuit missionary leading a life scarcely less heroic than his historic brethren. The Insane Asylum on Blackwell's Island, New York, the Penitentiary, the Charity Hospital, Ward's Island, Randall's Island, North Brother Island, the hospital for infectious diseases, each of these is the chosen place of labor for the Jesuit Father of to-day, no less than the city prisons, with which the name of the Jesuit Fr. Duranquet, as the friend of the friendless criminal at the gallows, will ever be inseparably linked.

The work of the Society of Jesus in the United States has not been confined to the Indian missions. In nearly every chief city in the United States there is a church or college of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus that wields an influence on higher education, and whose spiritual life is felt pulsating through the whole city. These colleges and churches we find in Boston, Worcester, New York and Philadelphia, in Baltimore, Washington and Cincinnati, in Cleveland, St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee, in Omaha, Kansas City and Denver, in Mobile, New Orleans and Galveston,

in Spokane, Santa Clara, and San Francisco, as well as in the northeast in Detroit and Buffalo.

The number of students in the Jesuit colleges of the United States in 1882–3 was 5,794, and may safely average now some two thousand more, with a standard of scholarship inferior to no college or university in the country.

To complete the picture already drawn in outline of the missionary labors, we have to refer to the new missionary fields of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in Alaska. The missions in Alaska cover an immense field. The area is one-sixth of the whole United States. Over this district are scattered a number of devoted missionaries, assisted by lay brothers of the Society of Jesus under the care of Rev. Fr. Tosi, S.J., recently appointed Vicar Apostolic. They have taken up the work for which the devoted Bishop Seghers, who had intended to join the Society of Jesus, had laid down his life. Their missions do not lie merely along the route of tourists, but are in the remote solitude of the desolate, untravelled interior. Communication with the civilized world is had but once a year, and the life of the missionary is almost one unbroken journey.

Their courage, amid terrible hardships, with frozen fish and seal oil for food, intense cold, and many privations, is kept alive by the remembrance of the tireless labors of their heroic brethren: Jogues, Breboeuf, Lalemant, Segura, White, and De Smedt, who lived and toiled that their fellow men in the missions of America might learn the knowledge and love of Jesus Christ.

Even from a utilitarian point of view, the only one that sends out its convictions to the minds of many men, the United States is not without its debt of gratitude. For, as in the missions of South America, the Jesuits made known the medical properties of quinine, discovered the properties of India rubber and vanilla; brought from Tartary to Europe the rhubarb plant, and from China the turkey; introducing into Europe the camelia flower and the art of dyeing and printing cotton, not less remarkable in North America and the United States were their contributions to science and civilization. They were the first to call atten-

tion to the great Falls of Niagara as far back as 1647. The first explorers of the northern lakes and rivers, they prepared the way for subsequent discoveries, and Fr. Albanel succeeded in accomplishing what soldiers and explorers had not the courage to undertake—the making of a road from Quebec to Hudson Bay. They were the first to make candles from the wild laurel, wine from the native grape, incense from the gum tree. They drew attention to the cotton plant and mulberry tree of the Mississippi. They brought the sugar cane from New Orleans; first planted the peach in Illinois and the wheat upon the prairies. They were the first to open the copper mines, as well as to make New York acquainted with her valuable salt springs. But all these things were but on their way to bring to the souls of men the knowledge of the greater glory of God.

We have been able to take only a brief glance at a work of heroism that is coeval with the infancy of our Republic. But the remembrance of these names, and the briefest idea of some of their labors, sufferings and achievements, which it would take volumes to worthily relate, will be sufficient to arouse a thrill of enthusiasm and gratitude that our land has been blessed by the presence of men of such noble courage.

We have but to recall New York, and the Jesuit names Jogues and Le Moyne are indelibly written, in martyrs' blood, upon the pages of her early history. Michigan sends out the name of Marquette, the waters of Lake Superior will ever murmur the name of Allouez, and those of the Illinois River that of Charles Garnier. Wisconsin speaks of Fr. Seigus, while the Miami Indians, the Choctaws, the Alabamas, the Susquehannas, the Abnakis and the Hurons have treasured up with the history of their tribes, the memory of the black gown, Fathers Stradis, Boullanger, de Syresme, White, Rale and Lalemant, the heroes of the early missions.

While we recall the memory of Columbus at this centennial celebration, as we turn over the pages of history of the last two hundred and fifty years, we find on almost every page the names of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, as missionaries, martyrs, explorers and educators, impressed indelibly upon the annals of the History of the United States of America.

THE FRANCISCAN PAPER.

PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS

From the woodcut published at Basle in 1575 in the work of Paolo Giovio, Archbishop of Nocera, "Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium," containing the portraits of 120 celebrated persons, with biographies.

The portraits were engraved from paintings in the gallery of the Archbishop in his villa on the banks of Lake Como, to which in 1552 and 1579 artists were sent respectively by Cosmo di Medici and Ferdinand of Austria to copy the portraits of Columbus. Five pictures now existing are supposed to be the originals and copies, viz.: the Altissimo, Florence, the Yanez in the National Library, Madrid, the Rincon in the Queen's library, Madrid, the portrait in the town hall, Cogoleto, and that recently discovered and in the possession of Dr. Orchi of Como. The Royal Academy of History at Madrid (1862) held this to be the most ancient and authentic likeness of Columbus in existence. It is supposed to have been painted from life after Columbus returned from his second voyage (1496), as the costume agrees with the description of Andrea Bernaldez, the curate of Los Palacios, "The admiral arrived at Castile. His dress was of the same order as that worn by monks of St. Francis, and in shape somewhat similar to the robes of that order, and with the rope of St. Francis around his waist for the sake of devotion."

THE ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS IN AMERICA.

THE limits of Christianity and civilization are identical. Without Christianity we have no civilization, and the Christian religion has been the chief factor in producing the stupendous spectacle presented to the world to-day in the exuberant growth, vitality, and grandeur of the continent disclosed by the discoveries of Columbus. The whole of the New World now worships the name of Christ, and this, together with the material prosperity arising from that fact, is due to the labors of the missionaries who made their appearance simultaneously with the conquerors, but, unlike them, were impelled only by the unselfish spirit of labor, charity, and sacrifice.

The desire to carry the treasure of Faith to unknown nations actuated Columbus and those who aided him, and this zeal, with the additional desire to be the promoters of the splendid advantages of civilization, inspired the missionaries. While the conquerors, for their own advantage, sought the subjugation of the tribes, the missionaries taught them the dignity and equality of the human race, and thus prepared them for the freedom and development with which America impresses the world to-day.

The Order of St. Francis took an important part in these beginnings of the moral and religious regeneration of the New World, and the acknowledgment of this fact is found in the special congratulations sent to the Order by Spain and America on this occasion of the centenary of the discovery of Columbus. Spain has willed the restoration of the Convent of La Rabida, near Palos, to the custody of the Franciscans, who had been banished by the revolution. It was here that Columbus, poor and an exile, found shelter and the most liberal hospitality at the hands of the Fran-

ciscan Fathers, and it was Father Giovanni Perez and Father Antonio di Marchena who took his cause up to the Court of Spain, and overcame all obstacles to the acceptance of his proposals.

It appears also from authentic documents that on his first voyage he was accompanied by his spiritual director, Father Bernardo Monticastri, of Todi, of the Osservanti of St. Francis. The histories of the Order are almost unanimous in stating that, upon his second voyage, he was accompanied by Father Giovanni Perez, to whom, with all the other priests who took part in that expedition, must be conceded the honor of having first celebrated Mass in the New World.

But whatever the fact may be with respect to those missionaries, history proclaims the labors of the Franciscan Fathers Giovanni Borgagnone and Giovanni de Tisni, who mastered, in less than a year, the Macroix language, the most difficult in the Island of Spain, preached to those tribes, and gave them the precious gift of the Christian religion. Treated with consideration by Caonabo, the fierce savage chief of Magua, they converted a number of natives, and when the friendly relations between him and the Spaniards terminated, they passed into the kingdom of Guariones and succeeded in maintaining his good will to Spain. The last voyage of Columbus cost the life of a Franciscan friar, named Alexander, who died at sea, and, had he not been preceded by Father Monticastri, would have been the first to sacrifice his life for the redemption of the New World.

In the expedition of Ovando (1500) seventeen Franciscan missionaries (thirteen priests and four lay-brothers) started for America. They were: Alonzo di Espinar, Bartolomeo di Turnegano, Antonio di Carrion, Francesco di Portogallo, Antonio de Martyribus, Masseo da Gatra, Pietro di Ornacinelo, Bartolomeo di Siviglia, Giovanni di Iunocosa, Alonso di Ornacimelos, Giovanni di Escalante, Giovanni and Pietro (Frenchmen), priests, and Giovanni Martin, Luca Sanchez, Pietro Martinez, and another, whose name is not known, the lay-brothers. Many others besides set out for America,

so that at the Council of the Osservanti, in 1506, the Franciscan province of the Holy Cross was constituted in the Island of Spain, with the very notable remark, "*Ad quam Fratres quotidie navigant, ubi fidem et religionem non cessant propagare;*" and we also know that three French brothers were sent in 1511, and twenty-two more in December of the same year, under the personal conduct of the renowned Father Domenico Torres, General Commissary of the Order. Eight more followed in 1513, and the province of the Holy Cross had convents in St. Domingo, Conception, and Darien.

The unselfish and civilizing labor of the missionaries contrasted strongly with the cruelty of the conquerors and gold hunters, who treated the natives like beasts of burden and made them instrumental to the gratification of the most brutal passions. An inextinguishable hatred sprang up between Spaniards and Indians in spite of the conciliatory efforts of the missionaries, who, however, met with the fiercest obstacles, and, while fearlessly defending the cause of the latter against the Europeans, were often put to death by those whom they sought to protect.

In 1516 the Franciscans went from the islands to the mainland, and founded a convent on the coast of Paria, near the island of Cubagna, of which Friar Giovanni Garces became vicar. Here they gathered the native children, teaching them to read and write, and all went on prosperously until the inhumanity of the conquerors ruined the civilizing work of the missionaries, causing sanguinary revolts and still more sanguinary reprisals. But this is the unvarying history of the American missions: on the one hand the priests sacrificing themselves to raise the tribes to the highest moral and intellectual level of the Europeans, and on the other, the conquerors striving only to gratify their greed for gold, ambition and glory, at the expense of their fellow-men, whom they enslaved and degraded to tools and instruments. But the religious and civilizing work of the missionaries prevailed, and to that fact, and to the efforts which originated in the labor of the Franciscans, who sowed the first seed and set the example of self-

denial and martyrdom, is due the Christianity of the American people and their first claim to a larger share of manly dignity than most nations of the globe can boast to-day.

After the first missions in the Isle of Spain and the islands successively discovered until the continent was reached, the first place where the apostolate of the Franciscans was established, afterwards followed by other religious Orders, with a truly prodigious success, was Mexico, discovered and conquered by Cortez between 1518 and 1524. It was the scene of the missions of Giovanni di Testo, Giovanni d'Aora, Pietro of Ghent (from Flanders), and afterwards of the venerable Martino da Valenza—a man of extraordinary virtue, commander of a numerous phalanx of Franciscan missionaries.

Cortez himself received them and presented them to the Mexicans with the following words: "The almighty God of heaven and earth sends us these holy men as apostles from the Only God. They are the objects of my veneration and that of the monarch obeyed by all Spain. Believe me, they have no desire for your riches—they only wish to save your souls. They had lands and treasures, but renounced them, wishing only to obtain those heavenly treasures which last forever. They come to open your eyes to the vanity of your idols and to teach you the true religion. The perils of a long voyage did not deter them, and they are ready to endure a thousand deaths in order to gain the salvation of your immortal souls. Yes, it is Christian charity which induced them to leave their country to come and deliver you from the awful slavery of the demons, to give you true freedom—the inheritance of God's children—and to teach you no longer to offer to your Creator abominable sacrifices, but the Immaculate Victim, the Lamb of God, sacrificed for the salvation of the world. We have sent for these venerable men so that they might become your healers with the true faith, instructors of your children, protectors of your country, and a guaranty of our good will towards you."

Subsequent events more than justified these words. The missionaries established four principal stations in the immense

Mexican territory, viz.: Mexico, Tezcuco, Tlaxcala, and Guaxoringo, founding churches, hospitals, convents and missions, laboring for the regeneration of the country, which in truth they obtained as soon as their ministry was unfettered. Their voices were heard in every corner of the land, and numerous communities were founded. Missions were established in the province of Mexico, evangelizing the whole valley of Toluca during the reign of Michoacan, Guatilan, Tula and Xilotepec as far as Meztitlan; in the provinces of Tezcuco, Otumba, Tepepulco, Tulancingo, and as far as the ocean; in the province of Tlaxcala, Tacatlan, and in all the mountains which on that side extended to the ocean, besides the extensive territories of Zarape and all the country bounded by the Alvarado; and in the provinces of Guaxoringo, Tholula, Tepiaca, Tecamacalco, the whole of Mixtecu, Guacachla and Quietla—in short among a multitude of people presenting an endless variety of nature, custom and language.

Expeditions followed each other like the waves of the sea, and soon a network was stretched out covering every inch of ground. Seventy convents (the centres of their work) and almost countless missions, besides two custodies, were erected together with the independent provinces of Michoacan, Guatemala and Yucatan. In sixteen years, from 1524 to 1540, six million souls were saved for Christ.

With the venerable Martino da Valenza, the first pastor of Mexico, who left behind him the name of Saint and wonder-worker, may be mentioned his fellow-missionary, the celebrated Father Giovanni di Zumarraga, who was the first bishop of Mexico, and who held the flattering though difficult rank of protector of the Indies. For sixteen years his life was that of an apostle; of eminent virtues, not only as bishop, but as a religious; humble, poor, affectionate, untiring as in the first years of his cloistral life.

Within a few years the last vestiges of the Teocalli (the towers upon which human beings were sacrificed) disappeared, and with them the monstrous idols of the Aztecs, and, unfortunately, the hieroglyphic manuscripts kept with them; but the missionaries and new converts helped to

repair the loss of the latter by the precious and abundant notes on the Aztec institutions collected and transmitted to us from the most authentic sources. Father Satragim, more than all his fellow-workers, rendered large services to history. But their labors so prospered in all directions that they could rejoice at the conversion of nine million natives before twenty years of their mission had passed.

From Mexico they crossed into Michoacan, where in 1535 they established a regular Custody, erected into a Province in 1575, with more than fifty convents, extending over the kingdom of Xatisco and New Gallizia. The first missionary to those territories was Father Martino of Jesus, a man of extraordinary virtue. He was followed by many others whose names alone would fill a volume.

In 1534 Father Jacopo da Testera, with four companions, inaugurated the missions of Yucatan, reaping a splendid harvest of converts. Other prominent missionaries were: Father Louis of Villalpando, a friar of great literary ability and profound learning, who was the first to learn the language of the country, and who compiled a grammar and vocabulary of it; friar Lorenzo da Bienvenida, Francisco da Bustamante, Diego di Landa and Cogolludo, the two latter being the first historians of the territory. All these followed the tracks of the Indians to inhospitable retreats where they were dispersed, and taught them the advantages of living a civilized life in communities; gaining their hearts by loving solicitude to such a degree that they became inseparable, the Indians following them as a shepherd is followed by his flock, and refusing to be consoled when robbed by death of their pastors.

The first dioceses were established in Yucatan (as in Mexico) by the Franciscan Fathers Giovanni di Porto, Francisco Toral and Father Landa, whose names were perpetually blessed. Father Landa, a man of austere and severe character, acquired incomparable distinction by the hardships he endured travelling through the whole province like an apostle, preaching, catechising, baptizing, collecting the Indians from the mountains into civilized settlements, and finally defending them with iron resolution against the

extortions of the barbarous conquerors. It was a struggle for life against the conquerors on the one hand and against the natives on the other, whom he reproved for their idolatry, breaking up their pagan worship, and venturing for that purpose into the thickest forests where he knew they resorted for that purpose.

With all his austerity he was tender of heart, and with God's help easily overcame the most terrible obstacles. One day presenting himself, cross in hand, to the Ganduli in Yokvitz, he proclaimed that the reign of Satan must end. The Indians at first were resentful and laid their hands upon their bows, but his voice, his look and something supernatural which seemed to hover about his face and his whole person conquered them, and they threw themselves at his feet.

His death was touching and saintlike. Always robed in accordance with the strict rule of the Franciscans, he presented, during his last illness, a spectacle which for edification has never been surpassed. He wished to be surrounded by his fellow-workers—of whom he styled himself the lowest and most unworthy—clothed to the end in the sacred tunic which he had never taken off and holding the crucifix in his hands. The chief people from all parts came to see him, and marvelled to see the famous apostle and pastor in such an attitude of penitence. No one was able to restrain his tears. In dying, his face, which through hardships, journeys and fasting had become hollow and attenuated, took on the rosy hue of health. Hardly able to speak above a whisper, an enormous assemblage crowded to ask his blessing and to kiss his feet. The desolate Indians ran here and there crying out: "Our father is dead! Who will be our comforter? Oh, beloved father, with thee we have lost every consolation!"

In 1539 the Franciscans had established flourishing missions in Guatemala. Father Alonso of Casa-Seca and his companions were the first missionaries. Wonders were wrought by the renowned Father Torribio Motolinin and by Pietro da Belanzos, who mastered the difficult and almost unpronounceable language of the natives, compiling a grammar

and dictionary which were afterwards perfected by Father Francesco della Parra. This made it possible to establish the regular province of the Holy Name of Jesus, which is considered, for its missionary work, one of the most glorious of the Order.

The expedition of Narvaez to Florida in 1528, to take possession of that country in the name of the Spanish crown, cost unnumbered sufferings and many victims, among them the glorious friar Giovanni Juarez, and yielded apparently but a meagre harvest of baptisms and transient impressions. But good seed is never lost, and the four missionaries who escaped death in this unfortunate campaign and returned looking less like men than skeletons from the grave, roused universal admiration and stimulated other priests to the task. The Italian Marco of Nice, taking for guide a negro, one of the survivors of the Narvaez band, ventured to explore the fateful country. Acting upon his instructions, the expedition of Coronado was undertaken. In it Father Giovanni of Padilla fell a victim to the savages, for love of whom he had confronted so many hardships. He was not the only victim, but finally, after repeated efforts, what the combined efforts of so many had failed to accomplish was effected in the year 1547 by a single servant of God, Father Andrew of Olmos.

He had already labored in the New World with splendid results. With the help of other companions he established missions in Tampico and crossed over into the territory of the ferocious Chichimechi (the present Texas), where he first familiarized himself with the language, of which he compiled the first grammar and dictionary, and, being sustained by extraordinary virtues, subdued the savages, who were more like beasts than men, initiated them into the true Faith and civilized practices, and founded a flourishing mission.

Thus the Franciscan missionaries in less than half a century had spread, not only over all the islands of the Atlantic, but over the continent, taking part in all the famous adventures in which the discovery and conquest of those territories abounded. From the Antilles to the Mississippi there were everywhere converted nations, religious

houses founded, and missions, the soil of which was fertilized by their blood; and of this work the greater part remained and yet remains unknown to the world. History records only the names of those who reaped the mere human glory of the conquest; those engaged in the propaganda of the Faith are barely noticed or known only to heaven.

It is quite certain that the first Franciscan missionaries to New Spain proposed to penetrate that vast country, and by crossing other seas, if any were encountered, to explore other countries and make the journey around the globe. The idea of Columbus, which the Franciscans had encouraged, of reaching the east by way of the west, which was unexpectedly crowned by the immense discovery of America, was imbibed by the later Franciscans who generously followed in his footsteps, and they succeeded in accomplishing his purpose; for it is a fact that, after crossing from Europe to America, they ultimately reached the Philippines, China, and Japan—those empires towards which Columbus steered the course that brought him to America.

Other missionaries penetrated to the southern continent from the Antilles, while their brethren were crossing to the north and to the east. At the conquest of Peru and Quito was present a Franciscan friar, a notable missionary and author, who mitigated the cruelty of the conquerors with the balm of faith and Christian charity, and who would have achieved the distinction of historian of America had not all his writings unfortunately been lost.

Friar Marco of Nice, whom we have already found suggesting the expedition of Coronado, went from Nicaragua into Peru with several companions to exercise his sacred ministry. He was the first chronicler of the conquest, especially of Quito, and an intelligent gatherer of important accounts concerning the authentic history of that empire; accounts which have been laid under contribution by all subsequent writers upon Peru. He and his eleven companions will always be remembered as seeking with sweet charity to try and make the wretched sufferers forget what they had endured in the blood-stained and cruel conquest, and to

inaugurate an era of justice, prosperity, and peace. Giovanni of Neoncon, Francisco of the Angels, Francisco of the Cross, Francisco of St. Anne, Peter of Portugal, Alonzo of Eparcena, Francisco of Marchena, Francisco of Aragon, Jodoco Ricke, priests, and the friars Martino of Junilla and Alonso of Ucanice, lay-brothers, disembarked barefooted at Payta with Marco, and proceeded at once to Cuzco, a distance of 300 leagues, preaching the gospel on their way. From there they journeyed the enormous distance to the province of Charcas, repeating the miracles of the twelve disciples of Christ. Their voices stirred those peoples in their darkness, and they destroyed their idols and bowed their heads to adore the true Creator whom they then knew for the first time.

A convent was founded in Quito in 1534 which became one of the principal centres whence the missionaries spread to preach Christ to countless tribes. Later on thirty-nine more convents were founded through their instrumentality, composing the regular Province of Quito. Neither was their teaching restricted to faith and morals, though these be the highest and most important to which the human intellect can aspire; but through that tie which, in its true comprehension, joins reason to faith and religion to civilization, they dedicated themselves largely to civil and economical instruction. Jodoco of Flanders, assisted by the friars, taught how to plow with oxen, to construct plows, yokes, and wagons. He taught to read, write, count, play upon musical instruments—stringed and with keys—organs, flutes, trumpets, and horns. Being an expert naturalist, he predicted the growth and prosperity of the provinces, and trained the natives in useful mechanical arts in order to render them independent of the Spaniards, and they soon became experts.

He opened a school of painting, bookkeeping, and calligraphy, and was the originator and promoter of the arts, and the teacher of authors, singers, musicians, painters (of miniatures, also), hatmakers, and weavers of cloth and hemp. He imported the most useful grain from Europe, including wheat, and showed how to cultivate it. There still exists

in Quito the earthenware vase in which he preserved the precious seed brought by him from Spain. A nun of the Poor Clares, a lady of Retez, introduced the culture of flax in Cuzco. To appreciate these labors, which at first sight may seem of little moment, it must be borne in mind that no sudden and radical change from barbarism to civilization can be effected, but that it is to be attained by the destruction of the vices of savage tribes and the gradual softening of their natures, preserving all their native good and natural aspect.

To form a summary idea of what the Franciscan Fathers accomplished in a very short time, we need only learn what were the first convents founded by them, each convent being the centre of very extensive missions whence they set out among the endless multitude of tribes and nations which peopled the country. The Franciscan convents are sure proof of the fruitfulness of the labors of the missionaries; and as they are maintained by the charity of the faithful, are proof of the sympathy and gratitude with which their labors were received by the surrounding peoples.

The first convents were those of Lima, Cuzco, Quito, Chuqudabo, Truxillo, Chuquisaca, Xausca, Guamanga, Arequipa, Caxamarca, Potosi, Chachapogad, Collaguas and della Paz—which augmented to such an extent that the Custody preached in a country of more than a thousand leagues in length, and when in 1553 it was declared a Province, it was necessary to constitute several other Custodies dependent upon it, viz.: those of St. Antonio, of Los Charcas, of the new empire of Granada, of San Paul, of Quito, and of the Holy Trinity in Chili, afterwards constituted as regular Provinces.

A description of the limits of Charcas will give an idea of the extent of their jurisdictions. To it were assigned the convents of Cuzco, founded by Friar Pietro, a Portuguese, in 1537; Chuquisaca and Potosi, founded in 1540; della Paz, founded in 1549; to which were subsequently added that of Cochabamba in 1581, Mitzque in 1600, Oruro and Tarija in 1606, besides the convents of Collagua, Los Reyes di Achorna, the Assumption of Chibay, Calletti, founded in

the same year, and the same province with the missions of the Holy Cross of Tute, St. Peter of Tisco, St. John of Tibayo, of the valley of Yucay, five leagues from Cuzco, founded in 1570, with the missions of Huayllabamba; Pocona, founded in 1577, St. Francis of Pocxi, five leagues from Arequipa, and St. Sebastian at Mitzque, which extended over the entire valley of Ayquila and Holoy.

Continuing to advance along the southern continent, in the year 1538, five missionaries under Father Bernardo di Armenta were the first to arrive in Paraguay and the river Plate. Shortly after they compiled a grammar of the Guarani language, into which they translated the catechism and many prayers. The most illustrious of the missionaries was Father Louis of Bolaños, a companion of St. Francis of Solano. Aided by several fellow-workers, he erected many chapels and churches in Guayra, founding six "Riduzioni," or, rather, large settlements, along the banks of the Ibaxiba, Paranepane and Pirano, which, subsequently passing into the hands of the Jesuits, became most beautiful illustrations of the glory of missionary work.

At this time the Portuguese rivals of the Spaniards, navigating towards India, discovered and took possession of Brazil, where they disembarked the first Catholic missionaries—Franciscan friars—who began at once to zealously preach the Faith. They were affectionately received by the natives, and built a house with an altar dedicated to their Seraphic Patriarch—the first temple devoted to the true God in Brazil. They had the happiness to seal their mission with their blood, being massacred by some savage fanatics who were full of wrath at the favor with which they were received and at the expansion of the Christian faith. Thus the churches of Bahia had the privilege of inscribing in the list of martyrs its first apostles.

Other missionaries accompanied expeditions of discovery in the southern ocean to teach faith and civilization; but when the Portuguese departed from Brazil the Franciscans remained behind. The ministration of Friar Pietro di Palacios was as beautiful as memorable. Withdrawing to a high and wooded mountain on one side of the port of Villa

Velha, he built two chapels, dedicating one to St. Francis and the other to Our Lady of Sorrows, which afterwards became holy sanctuaries. He led a life of prayer, contemplation and mortification in conjunction with his missionary work in the outside world. Every Sunday he descended the mountain to visit the principal churches. Traversing the streets of the city, cross in hand, he instructed the children in the Faith, and, surrounded everywhere by a multitude to listen to his sermons and receive his blessing, he preached the gospel in Vittoria and in Villa Velha with seraphic simplicity. He visited the savage tribes surrounding the cities of Capitania and the Holy Ghost, remaining for days among them, instructing, baptizing, and doing his utmost to instil the sweet spirit of the gospel. He died in his beloved grotto, near the chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows, in the year 1570. His memory survived, and the veneration for him has steadily increased.

When the first Franciscan convent was founded in Olinda, missions were established along the coast, from north of Capitania as far as Rio Janeiro, gradually expanding to Custodies and Provinces. The first Custody, afterwards a Province, was St. Antonio, which began with the Convent of Olinda, and was followed by others—Bahia in 1587, Iguaracu in 1588, Paraiba in 1590, Vittoria in 1591, Rio Janeiro, Reciffe and Pojuca in 1606, Seregipe del Conde in 1629, Villa Formosa and Serenhanheu in 1630, Villa dos Santos and San Paolo in 1639, Casserebu and Paraguacu in 1649, Cayru of the Grand Island and Peña dello Spirito Santo in 1650, Itanhanheu in 1655, Seregipe del Rey in 1658, St. Sebastian dell' Ampara in 1659, and Penedo and Alagoas in 1660. These convents were still laboring in 1750 in the territories of Paraiba, Soanne, Mauque, Brazo del Peixe, St. Augustin, Assumption, Jacoca, St. Michele di Goayana, Ponta das Pedras, Itapespina d'Iguaracu, and two in Fernambuco ; all the savage tribes of these parts having been civilized through the efforts of the missionaries.

The next regular Province, called Conception, was organized in 1661. In 1740 it included thirteen convents and labored besides in St. Michel, of the district of St. Paul, among

Indians of the Carijos tribe ; in St. John in the territories of the Cities of Itanhanheu ; St. Antonio in the lands of the Cities of San Salvador los Campos Guaytacases among Indians of the Garulha tribe, and finally Our Lady of Escada, in the district of the town of Sacaratri, among Indians belonging to the same tribe. Many neophytes of the Order were made in these missions, first among settlers from Portugal settled in Brazil, and then among the natives, who, to this day, have been distinguished for virtue, and in science and literature, and as bright examples of the holiness, activity and decorum of the Order.

Among the first-fruits of that abundant harvest we have Father Paul of St. Catherine, born in 1577, and who, after entering the Order of St. Francis, excelled in erudition as well as in zeal for the missions, continuous and fruitful preachings, persuasive reasoning, and holy example. Among recent naturalists, Vellojo, called the Linnæus of America, another of a series of more than thirty-two highly esteemed monks, illustrating the fauna and flora of Brazil, is thus spoken of by the quarterly review *Institudo Brasileiro de Rio Janeiro :* "If the glory of nations springs from the graves of their sons, gratitude demands that their names be transmitted to posterity with admiration and reverence. Sweden justly exalts the name of its illustrious Linnæus, Switzerland is proud of the genius of De Candolle, Great Britain has given to the world the admirable genius of Brown and Hooker, who gathered all that the schools of France and Germany, represented by Jussieu, Adanson, Brongniart, Baillon, Endlicher, Humboldt and Martin had accomplished : and Brazil has the proud distinction of seeing all those schools and nations recur to the gifted works of the Franciscan Friar Mariano Vellojo. Respect Brazilian philology and render homage to his illustrious name."

In his explorations he had for companions Friar Anastasio of St. Ignes, author of the Herbaceous definitions, and Friar Francisco Solano, the designer and miniature painter of the plants which Vellojo discovered and classified. He died June 13th, 1811, and was a contemporary of the equally notable naturalist Father Giuseppe da Costa

Azevedo of the Franciscan Order, who was especially noted for his mineralogical studies. Greatly honored in Brazilian history and renowned for sacred eloquence were Francisco da Montalverne, Father Sampaio and Francis of St. Charles; the last named, with Father Manuel da Santa Maria Hapatarica, have given Brazil the finest poetical productions of which it boasts.

The establishment of the Franciscan Provinces in Brazil did not cause the Provinces of Europe, and especially those of Portugal where they originated, to cease to send other apostles into that harvest of the Lord. On the contrary, full of joy at having instituted those missions, they continued to share their hardships. The Province of San Antonio of Portugal had the following missions in Gran Para: that of Our Lady of the Rosary, among the Indians of the Saracas tribe; of St. Joseph, in the same island, among the Indians of the Aruaa and Marunus tribes; of Our Lady of the Conception of Para; of the Amazon river, among the Indians of the Aracaju tribe; of St. Antonio of Anajatiba, among Indians of the Aruaa tribes; of the Holy Christ of the River Mapahu; of Our Lady of Grace, of the Amazon river; of Our Lady of the Conception of Guarapiranga, frontier of the city of Gran Para, all among Indians of different tribes. At the same time the Province of Conception and of Piety had numerous missions there.

At the present date the holy work continues. In 1853 the Franciscans Gesnaldo Machetti, Vincenzo Rocchi, Samuele Mancini and Luigi Zaccagni, who went as missionaries to Bolivia, were invited by the Brazilian Minister Plenipotentiary at Bolivia to establish missions in Northern Brazil. They accepted the invitation and have been joined by other Franciscan missionaries from Germany.

Thus slowly but progressively the Christian and civil regeneration of Brazil has been effected; and here, before taking leave of Brazil, is the proper moment to relate that the Franciscans who were preaching in Peru met by wonderful chance their fellow-workers from Brazil who were exploring the course of the great Amazon river. Father Laureano of the Cross has left a detailed narrative of this

meeting, recounting in all its particulars with beautiful grace how two lay-brothers of the Province of the Twelve Apostles, with endless good fortune, managed to discover the whole course of the Maragnon, an undertaking vainly attempted before that time on account of its innumerable difficulties.

The best idea of the diffusion of the Franciscans in America will be obtained from an enumeration of their Provinces in the order of their foundation. Holy Cross of Caracas, 1505; Holy Gospel in Mexico, 1534; Twelve Apostles in Peru, 1553; St. Joseph in Yucatan, 1559; St. Peter and Paul of Michoachan, 1565; Most Holy Name of Jesus in Guatemala, 1565; Santa Fede in New Granada, 1565; St. Francis of Quito, 1565; Most Holy Trinity in Chili, 1565; St. Antonio de las Charcas, 1565; St. Gregorio of Nicaragua, 1577; St. Francisco among the Zacatecas, 1603; St. Diego in Mexico, 1603; St. Diego in Mexico, 1606; St. Francis of Xalisco, 1606; St. Helena in Florida, 1612; the Assumption in Paraguay, 1612; St. Antonio in Brazil, 1657; the Immaculate Conception in Brazil, 1675; and in later years the Custody of the Immaculate Conception of Mary in Buffalo, of St. John Baptist in Cincinnati and the Province of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary, besides numerous missionary colleges spread over the eastern and southern parts of America.

The limits of this paper do not permit us to do more than name the principal personages and prominent points of the glorious apostolate of the Franciscans not already touched upon. In 1595 a new search for El Dorado, or the fabulous land where the rocks, trees and mountains were all fine gold, tempted the fitting out of an expedition to the basin of the Orinoco. Twelve missionaries accompanied it, and the fruit of their hardships and fatigues is found in thirteen large missions established there from the middle of the seventeenth century. Their historian is Father Conlin, who had a large share in them. They covered the territory from the river Crunana or Manzanares to the Unare—twenty-five leagues from east to west, and fifty miles north and south, along the coast as far as the Ori-

noco, where, in 1799, they had already gathered and subjected to the civil government of these Provinces sixteen tribes. This union was consecrated with the blood of three Franciscan friars, who died after ferocious tortures by the savage tribes, whose cruel disposition presented the greatest difficulties to the missionaries. But this was the story in nearly all the missions of America. In Peru, the Indian neighbors to the Panataguas tribe slew with arrows two venerable Fathers and Franciscan missionaries, Cristoforo Larios and Girolamo Ximenes.

Father Francisco di Morales and Father Francisco di Aliozer preached in the immense and populous valley of the Collao, in the centre of which is Lake Titicaca, and soon administered ten thousand baptisms. Father Girolamo of Villa Carillo, explored the thinly populated valley of Collaguas, and with the help of several fellow-workers, among whom was Father Gasparo di Vaños, a Portuguese, a saint and a very gifted apostle, made over thirty thousand converts. The province of Caxamalco was the scene of the labors of a poor converted lay-brother, Matteo of Jumilla, whose voice shook those idolatrous hearts so strongly that they came crowding in throngs to receive faith through baptism. Thus step by step from Panataguas to the Amazon and as far as the Cordilleras, without pausing for hindrance or obstacle, the missionaries held their way.

On the other side the Cordilleras was a world in itself, and here the mission work was continued from the middle of the seventeenth century to this day. They yet labor in Peru, Mexico, Paraguay, Chili and Brazil among tribes which still remain in barbarism. Of the work we possess accounts by Arnich, Unizzani, Vernazza Revello, Mossi, Compte, Sabate, Cardus Sans and Armentia, besides the publications of Bustamente and Icazbalceta. Of the Diaries of Armentia, a very competent judge, Carlo Bravo speaks in very flattering terms as deserving of admiration (apart from its religious side) for its scientific features, which are valuable no less for the extent and difficulty of the explored region than for the exactness of the information collected and preserved.

Much more could be added, but it would require volumes to detail the names of the Franciscan Fathers who preached the gospel in America and gave impulse to its civilization, the countries they explored, the centres of missionary work they founded, the languages they mastered, the colonies they established and the accounts which they wrote. In the empire of Quito alone there were thirty-two principal centres of missions from which hundreds of apostles went forth in every direction, and which, after becoming convents of Regular Observance, continue their missionary work to this day. Suarez in his ecclesiastical narrative wrote: "The Franciscan Order is the most ancient in the equator and the one which labors most for the conversion of nations." Many of the colonies which constitute the present republic of Quito were founded by the Order, and its glorious traditions are happily continued by Father Macia (since 1876 Bishop of Loja), who has created great and small missions where more than two hundred young men have been educated; who has renewed the ancient convent of St. Francis of the Observance and also a numerous community of the Third Order; is, moreover, now restoring the convent of the Dominicans, has called to his diocese the daughters of St. Vincent de Paul to nurse in the hospital and to open a house of the Good Shepherd, and with the Fathers of his Order is constantly about mission work in his large flock, indefatigable in spreading the Divine word.

The first bishop of Tucuman was the Franciscan Father Francisco Belmonte, nominated by Pius V., who instituted the Episcopal hierarchy there in May 10th, 1570. Another Franciscan, Father Girolamo Albornoz, succeeded him, followed by Father Ferdinand of Trejo. The mission of Tucuman extended to the Cumana, to the river Plate and to the Ciaco; so that in 1587 the Order was established there in five convents or central missions—San Michel, Eatero, Rioga, Cordova and Corriente. These, like those in Paraguay, were united into a Custody dependent upon the Province of Peru down to the year 1612, when they were united with Paraguay into a great missionary Province called "Assumption."

One cannot name Tucuman without recalling that prodigy San Francesco Solano, whose life was an uninterrupted apostleship. Churches, monasteries, convents, hospitals, theatres, the public streets, squares and gambling houses resounded with his apostolic voice. Evil doers were affrighted, profane spectacles were banished from the theatres, primitive virtues beamed again in the cloisters and among the virgins consecrated to God, and the great crimes of the nobility were expiated publicly and solemnly. He died 12th July, 1610, lamented by the whole of America. He was declared holy and a worker of miracles of the New World by Clement X., and by Benedict XIII., in the year 1726, he was solemnly enrolled among the saints.

The flourishing condition of the Franciscan missions in Paraguay is attested by the numerous prelates whom the Pontiff nominated to the diocese: John Barrios in 1547, Peter de la Torre in 1554, John de Campo in 1570, Martin Ignacio de Loyola in 1601, Bernardino Cardenas in 1640, and many others. Father Alonzo di Bonaventura and Louis di Bolanos labored converting and erecting crosses everywhere. Along the Picer and the Buay alone, they established fifteen churches, and, with their fellow-laborers from Buenos Ayres, converted thousands of Indians along the river as far as Quiros. Father Luiz di Bolanos preached the gospel for sixty years, and died 8th October, 1629.

In 1612 the Franciscan Order had a very flourishing Province in the region comprising Paraguay and Tucuman, as well as eleven convents: St. George in Cordova, San Michel in Tucuman, Assumption in Paraguay, the Eleven Thousand Virgins in Puerto, St. Francis in Salta, St. Francis in Cucin, St. James in Estero, San Martin in Eatero, St. Ann in Santa Fede, San Francis in Rocha, and St. Francis in Corrientes—all with missions and convents depending on them, such as Ytabi, Calapa, Yutig, Oclies, and others. Illustrious among the numerous active and holy missionaries, in the first century of the discovery of America, were Father Francis di Aroca, Diego di Lagunas, Alfonso de la Torre, Andrea Rodriguez, John de San Bernardo, John de Vergura and Martin Ignacio de Loyola ;

not omitting the saintly Bishop Cordenas, called the Father of the Poor Indians.

As constant and vigorous defenders of the poor Indians, the Franciscans incessantly despatched eloquent memorials to the Court of Spain; that of the celebrated missionary and historian Father Bonaventure Cordova Salinas, covering 150 printed folio pages, is most affecting, and so is the earnest account of Father John da Silva, in 1621. Peter of Maldivia, who compiled the "Conquest of Chili" for the Court of Spain, was among the first missionaries in 1541, together with the Franciscan brother, Ferdinand Barrionueve, of noble birth, and they were followed by many other fellow-workers, such as Father Bernardino Aguero, who on entering Coquimbo and Copimpo, obtained, but not without much resistance, numerous conversions. Others joined them in 1552, including Brother Francis Turingia and John Gallegos. But not being sufficient for all the work, three more were brought from Lima in the next year, 1553, by Father John de Toralba; viz., Christopher di Ravaneda, John de la Torre, called the Saint, and the converted brother, Jacinto di Frenegal, who subsequently opened a house which was the beginning of the foundation of the Franciscan Missionary Province of Chili, under the name of the "Holy Trinity."

To soften the naturally ferocious spirit of the Araucani, the missionaries founded convents in Araucania, around which those wild people spread their camps, and thus obtained the immediate protection and defence of the pastors. Such were the convents founded by Father Torralba, in Augol, in Imperiale, in Valdivia, in 1558, from whence he penetrated the territory of the Cunci and arrived as far as Osorno, where he founded another convent, under the protection of the martyr saints, Cosmas and Damian, and still another in Villa Rica, named "Our Lady delle Nevi," 1568. An episcopal see being erected in Imperiale, the first bishop was the Franciscan brother Antonio of San Michel, guardian of the City of Cuzco, in Peru, who very soon opened up new missions in Budi, Ragilhue and Hualpi, a seminary for young men who felt a call to ecclesiastical orders, and establishments for the education of girls.

Among the most noted missionaries was Father Ferdinand Barrionueve, who afterwards became bishop of Santiago; Father Diego of Medellin, his successor to the same see in 1574, and the bishops of Santiago, Brother Peter of Azuaga, John Perez de Espinoza and Luis Girolamo D'Ore, illustrious prelates worthy of being venerated in every respect, who by example, work and word regenerated the country. Their labors were not restricted to religious teaching, but included the establishment of civil institutions, according to the needs of the undeveloped natures and the complex relations among which they labored.

Father Turingia (says Eyzaguirre) in the sixteenth century was the pride of Chili. Gifted by heaven with a remarkable aptitude for preaching the gospel, he never spoke but to pour forth a torrent of pious and consoling words. At the sound of his voice, the most hardened hearts were softened, the vicious reformed their lives, and pious souls were wrapt as in an atmosphere from Paradise. His companion in hardships and not inferior in merit, was Father Francis Gallegos; and after them must be named Father Francis Frenegal, John della Torre, Cristopher Ravaneda, John di Tobar, Michel Bocillo, Melchior Arteaga, Thomas Toro, John of St. Bonaventura, Father Peter Arteca, a native of Santiago, who died with the reputation of a saint, on May 3d, 1647, and the glorious wonder-worker, Father Andrew Corzo, the inseparable companion of St. Francis Solano.

Not less brightly than the sons of the First Order of St. Francis shone the daughters of the Second Order of the Sisters of St. Clare in Chili, who were summoned by the two Franciscan prelates Medellin and Solier. All the historians of that country agree in recognizing the conspicuous services rendered by those generous ladies to religion and to the state. The two monasteries of Osorno and Imperiale especially distinguished themselves by the heroism they displayed during the siege to which those cities were subjected by the Araucanians. The religious behaved so admirably as to inspire respect in the savages, flushed by victory and ready for the worst excesses, and it is almost a miracle that they escaped unharmed.

The spiritual conquest of Canada, of which ingenious and fine descriptions have been left us by the Franciscans Le Clercq, Pagard, Hennepin and Crespel (men who shine as so many lights in the annals of the Order and the Bibliographie Universelle) is a most edifying history. In 1614 Father Dionisio Jamay started for Canada, as commissary, with John d'Olbeau, Joseph Le Caron and the lay-brother Pacifico Duplessis. The natives were ferocious, without fixed abodes, transporting their huts here and there, wherever they could fish and hunt. The missionaries, after selecting Quebec as a centre, extended the network of their missions, John d'Olbeau going among the Montagneses and Father Joseph Le Caron among the Hurons. In 1620, being strengthened by a new band of missionaries, they opened a regular convent in Quebec, and the following year, on the 25th of May, the church was blessed under the patronage of Our Lady of the Angels.

The war, which broke out shortly afterwards between the French and the Iroquois, made the diffusion of the holy gospel amongst those tribes more difficult, the missionaries being exposed every moment to capture and death at the hands of the savages. Father Poullin, who accompanied his countrymen to the assault of St. Louis, fell into the hands of the Indians, who, according to their custom, prepared to burn him. The French, being informed of the meditated cruelty, quickly offered their prisoners as ransom and were successful. The missionary was found covered with wounds and bound to the stake for sacrifice. Two prisoners, who refused to go back to their tribe, were taught the gospel by him, and subsequently rendered valuable service, in the cause of Jesus Christ, to their own people.

Having finished their convent, the Franciscans founded a Novitiate in Quebec in 1622 ; and in 1623 a new band of missionaries came from the Province of St. Dionisio, in France ; amongst whom were the venerable Father Nicholas Viel, with the lay-brothers Teodato Pagard and Gervasio Moyer.

They sailed up the St. Lawrence, established themselves amongst the Hurons, who received them with festivities, and

besought the Fathers to remain with them in their huts. It was with difficulty they could be made to understand that it would produce better results for the liberty and extension of the Apostolic ministry to let the missionaries have separate houses. Notwithstanding this kindly reception, the mission had to overcome many difficulties, owing to the lack of intelligence of the tribe, who could only very slowly be subdued to Christianity. But all difficulties were overcome by the mild disposition of the natives and the untiring efforts of the missionaries, who were implicitly obeyed.

Anoindaon, chief of Quieunonascaran, felt such affection for the Franciscans, that he insisted upon assuming the office of their major-domo, and was constantly with them. Finding them sometimes kneeling in prayer in the chapel, he also knelt by their side, joining, as they did, his hands, and not being able to do more, attempted to imitate their gestures, moving his lips and raising his eyes to heaven. Here he remained until the service, sometimes a long one, was over, although he was 75 years of age. When one of the Fathers was left alone, the others being absent, he wished to sleep in the missionary's hut, in order to protect him from danger, and only with difficulty and to his great sorrow could be dissuaded from doing so.

It was found necessary that Father Pagard and Father Joseph should return to Quebec to provide the necessaries to establish the Mission on a better and more solid footing since they were now assured of the affection of the tribes, and they travelled in two canoes with different guides, arriving at Quebec eight days apart. The journey as described by Pagard was very painful, but yet was a continual mission among the natives of the country they passed through, and very touching was their separation from the tribe of the Hurons, who, flocking around them, wept in their desolation. Having arrived at Quebec, after many hardships, they found an order from the Provincial of Paris, recalling them without delay to France.

"My poor Canada!" concludes the loving narrative of Father Pagard, "dear land of the Hurons, I had chosen thee for the abode of my last days, working for thy conver-

sion, but this has not been granted me. None will ever know what grief I suffered in leaving those tribes enveloped in dark superstition! But other, holy, missionaries will take my place, and I know for certain that their full conversion will be accomplished some day, to be the condemnation of so many Christians, who, surrounded by God with so many blessings, are so ungrateful and insensible to His kindness." His prediction was fulfilled, in respect to the efforts of the Franciscans to convert the tribes; for they had conceived so much affection for the Indians that they were never able to abandon them.

The Fathers of the Province of Aquitania sent some of their fellow missionaries to Acadia, and one of them, called Bernardino or Sebastian, started from Miscou, intending to go as far as the River St. John, where the principal station of the Mission was located; in the wilderness between Miscou and Porto Real he perished with all his companions. He had preached the Gospel amongst the savages for three years, so writes Father Le Tac, was thoroughly acquainted with their language and had fully gained their love and esteem.

The Franciscans Pagard, Hennepin, Le Clercq, and Crespel have earned their reputation, not only for their missionary work, but for their writings, which constitute a treasury of information. The work of Pagard, writes Le Chevalier, comprises a period of about fifteen years, and furnishes, whether as regards details or as a whole, an important part of the history of North America. The letter of Father Dionisio Jamay is a vivid description of the first Franciscan Convent on the borders of the St. Lawrence, and explains very clearly the state of the Canadian Colony at the beginning of the seventeenth century. We owe to Pagard very valuable and exact accounts of the Hurons, the Montaneti, the Trocheti, and different other Indian tribes. He studied them carefully and patiently, and knew their language, their customs, habits and manners, which are all described with wonderful accuracy, and sometimes with an elegance of language to which the historians of the seventeenth century were not accustomed. The topography also

is exact. Having left France bearing to the savages the standard of the Roman faith, he and his fellow-workers planted Catholicism in New France, and endowed the country with vigorous Catholic power, which was maintained down to the capture of Quebec by the English in 1759. Pagard was one of the most devoted Apostles of the Roman Catholic Church. He declares it, he repeats it, he reveals it in every word, he boasts of it and glories in it. Whoever takes up his books, finds him an original, instructive, clever and first rate author, with a heart full of faith, love, and rectitude. The same can be said of the other writers, fellow-workers of Pagard, Le Clercq, Hennepin and Crespel. Le Tac's works, which are very scarce, are of great value, and contain the choicest information. His name among the Franciscans who first entered Canada to preach the Gospel, and made it abound with Apostolic labor, is still a benediction.

A Father of the Society of Jesus, Father Huygens, writes in 1876 to Father Van Loo, a Belgian Franciscan, "The name of the Franciscan Fathers is still blessed in Lower Canada. The holy Bishop of Montreal, Mgr. Bourget, would receive you with open arms. The Third Order is still numerous among both sexes ; they still hold regular meetings in Montreal. Being chaplain at the Monastery of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at the Falls of Recolletto (where there is one of our novitiates, eight miles from Montreal), on Sundays and other feast days a Dominican of the Third Order waits on me at the table, wearing the Franciscan tunic and waist cord. The Belgian Fathers of Charity do much good there. The material is not lacking. The citizens of Montreal are building a fine convent for the Carmelites, who are very glad of this. The good Franciscan Fathers were those who caused the Jesuits to come to Canada. We should be happy if we could induce them to return, and in truth a few years ago they returned—being called and expected with the greatest enthusiasm."

In 1880 the vicar-custodian of Jerusalem (from whence he was called) was appointed commissioner of the Terra Santa in Canada, his coming exciting enthusiasm of which few

examples are found in history. Seeing how warmly he was welcomed, he conceived the idea of re-establishing in Canada the Franciscan Order, beginning with the foundation of the commissaryship of the Terra Santa, which started under the happiest auspices. In June, 1888, his purpose was effected. He went with three companions to establish the house projected eight years before; and thus the restoration of our Order in that country was inaugurated, and very soon their labors flourished, extending to religious and other institutions. The outlook is good, and we hope by the grace of God the holy work may be fruitful: of which the seed was sown by the sons of the patriarch of Assisi in a nation that adores them.

Retracing a few steps, we have to point out how the apostolic work of the Franciscans continued to develop in other territories of North and South America. The ill-success of the expeditions of Coronado, and afterwards of Soto, somewhat damped, but did not extinguish, the ardor for new discoveries. A Franciscan called Augustin, full of zeal for the salvation of souls, being told that in the interior there were large populations composed of very fierce peoples, obtained permission to go to them with two Fathers, Francis Lopez and John de Santa Maria. Arriving in 1581, they established a mission among the Tizuas, and then going further into the interior about 400 Mexican leagues, in various disguises, they were ultimately betrayed by the natives and killed, being lamented sorely by the new converts.

In this way New Mexico was discovered. In 1596 a new and more numerous expedition was sent out under the leadership of Oñate, with eight Franciscans, accompanied by Father Rodrigo Duran, as Commissary. After the subjugation of the natives almost without resistance, they showing willingness to be taught the Christian faith and to be baptized, they were intrusted to the Franciscans in the following order: to Father Francis of St. Michael, the Province of Pecos, with eleven tribes of the Laguna, which is in the East, besides the shepherds of the Cordilleras of the Sierra Nevada, and the tribes of Zuanquiz and Hohota, Yonalins, Zatoe, Xaimela, Aggey, Cuza, Cizentetpi, Acoli, Abbo,

Apena, Axanti, Amaxa, Couna, in Alle Atuyama, and Chein, and finally the four other large ones of Xumanas, which are called Atripuy, Genobey, Zuelotetrey, and Patao-trey.

To Father Francis of Zamora, the tribes of the Province of the Picuries; all the Apaches of the Sierra Nevada to the north and east, and all those of the province of Taos. To Father John de Reixas, the tribes of the province of the Cheres, together with those of Castixes, of Comitre, of San Domingo, of Alipoti Chochiti of the Lake of Carabajed, of San Marco, San Cristoforo, Sant Anna, Ojana, Guipana, Puerto and Popolo Bruciato. To Father Alonzo di Lugo, the tribes of the province of Euimes, with those of Yjar, Guayoguia, Mecastria, Quinsta, Ceca, Potre, Trea, Guatitritti, Catroo, and Apedes. To Father Andrew Corchado, the tribes of the province of Trias, with those of Ramaya, Yaco, Toyagua, and Pelchin. To Father Giovanni Claros, the tribes of the province of Tiguas, with those of Mapeya, Tuchimas, and Para, besides those south of the North River. To Father Cristoforo of Salazar, the tribes of the province of Tepuas, besides the City of San Francisco of the Spaniards, which was building.

Among the Pecos, two miles from the village of Ojke, the first colony was established: building there a wooden church, which was the first one erected in New Mexico. And from this colony, which became the centre of the apostolic labor of the Franciscans, they spread out, preaching the gospel with great success throughout that great country, building numerous churches, to each of which they gave a Saint as patron; as in the village of Puaray, San Antonio of Padua; to that in the village of San Domingo, "The Virgin Assunta nel Cielo;" to that in the town of Picuries, the seraphic doctor, San Bonaventura; to that in the town of Gallisteo, St. Ann, the mother of the Blessed Virgin. The Fathers were subsequently re-enforced by six more missionaries, with a new commissary in the place of Escalona, who had resigned. This was Father Francis Escobar, who encouraged the mission so much that the most marvellous progress was obtained. The soul of the work and the example

for the newcomers were the Fathers who already knew the character, language, and manners of the natives, viz.: Father Escalona, Father Francis of St. Michael, Father Francis Taumone, Father Lopez Isquierdo, and Father Gastona Peralta, who had become like natives of the country.

In 1608, when Escobar resigned his office, the converted amounted to 8,000. In 1630 Father Alfonso Benavides, Custodian of New Mexico, sent to King Philip IV. by the General Commissary of India, Father John of Santander, a stupendous account, handed down to us, and which only lack of space prevents our quoting. Suffice it to say, the whole Apache nation was converted, three churches and convents being founded among them: one in the borough of Pilaho dedicated to the Blessed Virgin ; one in the town of Seneca dedicated to San Antonio; the third in the town of Sevilletta dedicated to San Lodovic, Archbishop of Toulouse. In the tribe of the Ruas, in 1626, the Fathers of the convents of Sandia and Yoletta, who ministered to their spiritual wants, baptized 7,000, the whole of the tribe; also 4,000 Queres, 10,000 Tompiros, 4,000 Tanos, and 2,000 Pecos, and many more were brought to the Christian faith and trained to an almost civilized and regular way of living. Those missions went on steadily increasing and flourishing.

Father Girolamo de Zarate Salmeron, a native of the province of the "Santo Evangelio" in Mexico, after many years of apostolical hardships among those barbarians, gives a complete history of all the expeditions undertaken for that conquest, with ample notices of the geography and natural history of the entire country. He relates the expeditions of Captain Espejo with Father Bernardino Beltran, and two subsequent ones with a certain Nemarcete and a certain Humana in 1594, under the leadership of Sebastiano Vizcayno, and in which the Franciscan Fathers Francis Balta, a commissary, Diego Perdomo, Bernardino of Zamudia, Nicolas Zarabiere and Christopher Lopez, a lay-brother, took part.

In 1599 Father Francis Velasco, who was then commissary of New Mexico, with Peter Vergara, a lay-brother, advanced more than two hundred leagues into the immense plains

of Cibola, traversing the tribes of the Vaqueros and Excausaquex. Finally in 1604 another expedition from San Gabriel to reach the south sea was accompanied by the commissary Father Francis Escobar, famous for his piety and knowledge of languages, and by the lay-brother John of San Bonaventura. The voyages of discovery in which the Franciscans took part were continued without interruption, as shown by the accounts still existing, and brought to light from the archives. Such, for instance, as that of Father Freytas, lately published in New York by Shea.

While the Franciscan Fathers thus assisted in new discoveries, they zealously improved the condition of the natives whose territory had been already explored, by founding churches and convents, which multiplied in a marvellous way, and which in Mexico alone numbered over fifty besides those in Michoacan and Yucatan. In Florida they penetrated in 1577, and Father Alonzo Regnosi founded two small missions in Madre de Dios and in San Sebastian. Finding the ground well disposed, others were sent for and came, viz., Father Francis Morrone, superior, Baltasar Lopez, Peter of Corpa and Antonio Badajos, with two lay-brothers. Twelve more arrived in 1593, under the guidance of Father John of Silva. They were Father Michael of Anon, Peter Ferdinand of Chosas, Peter Anon, Biagio of Montes, Peter Bermejo and Francis Pareja (the first to write a catechism in the language of the natives, which was afterwards published), Peter of San Gregorio, Francis of Velascola, Francis of Avila, Francis of Bonilla, Peter Ruiz, and the lay-brother Peter Vinegra, who afterwards, for his numerous services, was also ordained a priest and excelled as a missionary.

The missions prospered and gave promise of the best results, when an Indian chief arose against them with a number of savages, and surprised the missionaries, putting them to torture. Father Francis of Avila and a few others were miraculously saved. Father Avila, after a long imprisonment, obtained his liberty, being exchanged for a savage who had fallen into the Spaniards' hands. As soon as the storm had passed, the mission recovered, and being re-enforced by new workers, had in a short time such success

in conversions that in 1603, at the general gathering of the Order in Toledo, it was constituted a regular Custody, together with that of Habana, Cuba and Bayamo, presided over by Father Peter Ruiz, another who had escaped the slaughter.

The number of conversions, as well as the Fathers, gradually increasing, it was formally declared a Province under the name of St. Helena at the general chapter of the Order held in Rome in 1612, which ordained that Father John from Castille should govern it, and it was fortified by thirty-two additional missionaries. Philip III. strove by all means to strengthen it. The houses which composed it were: the Conception in San Augustin, the Conception in Cuba, St. Peter in Atulateca, St. Anthony in Enecape, San Dominico in Talatsi, St. Luce in Quera, the Holy Cross in Trari Chica, St. Ildefonso in Carnilo, St. Lodovic in Himahica, the Conception in Havana, Holy Mary of the Angels in Bayamo, St. Catarin in Guale, St. Francis in Potamo, St. Bonaventura in Guadalquivir, St. Martin in Ayacuto, St. Peter in Potoiriba, St. Lawrence in Hibitica-chuco, St. Ann in Port au Prince.

Such was the apostolate of the Franciscans in the three large divisions of America, known by the names of Florida, California and New Mexico, of which the Province of St. Evangelio in Mexico (from which the great movement was kept going) was the centre. In nearly all the expeditions the missionaries protected the leaders and soldiers who, notwithstanding their European firearms, would have perished, if it had not been for the authority and reverence which the Franciscans had acquired among all the tribes. The exploring parties generally started from Mexico, and were either preceded or accompanied by the missionaries, who were always their preservers, through Michoacan, Yucatan, Jalisco, Guatemala, Vizcaya, California and New Mexico. They passed from one territory to another, from one nation to another, going and coming, not once, but repeatedly, as each of them was a missionary, not for one territory only, but for all those territories and tribes.

In Yucatan—where the first missions were established by

the venerable Father James Testera and his four companions, and which was traversed by five other Franciscans guided by Father Louis of Villalpando, in 1537, who established good residences in 1546 for the purpose of forming a regular missionary Province—new expeditions were formed without interruption, such as the 'Six Fathers' in 1548, of Father John della Porta; the 'Six Fathers,' of Brother John Abalate ; the 'Twelve Fathers,' of Brother Lorenzo of Bienvenida, in 1561 ; the 'Twelve Fathers' in 1566.

In 1573 the expedition of Father Cardete, and in 1576 that of the 'Eighteen Fathers,' under Father James of Padilla, was followed by that of the 'Sixteen Fathers' in 1578, under Peter Cardete ; the 'Twelve Fathers' in 1587, under Father Paul of Padilla ; another of Twelve Fathers in 1584, under Brother Caspi of Naxara ; another of twelve in 1593, under Brother Paul Maldonado ; another of twelve in 1601, under Brother Alonzo Perez Guzman, and so on, without any noticeable interruption, and it was the same in all other parts of America.

It would be too long a task to give the history of all the missionary Fathers who consecrated intellect and life to the regeneration of the American Indians. It must suffice to name only the more prominent. Father James of Testera had the merit of kindling the ardor of his fellow-workers, who in numbers exceeding one hundred and fifty went from Europe to America to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. Louis of Villalpando was the first to master the language of the natives, in which he preached with such success that his memory will always be indelible. Lorenzo of Bienvenida was one of the principal founders of the missionary Province of St. George, with numerous converts. Father Bartolomeo of Torquemada lived for forty years among the savages, who loved him like a father, and were inconsolable at his death. Father Alonzo of Alvarado, who arrived at Yucatan in 1549, showed by his saintly life the loving zeal he had for the conversion of the Indians. Father Francis Navarro, a man of letters, and notable for his knowledge of the Maya language, built the convents of Mani, Ytzmal and San Bernardino of Zizal ; Father John Velasquez founded and or-

dained in all those missions special hospitals for the Indians. Father Thomas of Arenas, one of the first to enter the coun try, presided over the missions as a superior, efficaciously promoting their growth. Brother Luiz of Caldera achieved splendid results in the conversion of the natives by representing in paintings, executed by himself, the mysteries and principal facts of our divine religion, a method of instruction which marvellously contributed to develop the intelligence of those people. Father John Ayora, of noble Spanish family, and formerly of the University of Alcala, in Henares, is noted for his travels, always performed on foot, and the hardships which he sustained therein, besides the conversions which he obtained, and his various works in the Mexican language, which he understood perfectly.

Father Francis Lorenzo in trying to restrain the Indians from their excesses was assaulted and died of his injuries. So with the lay-brother John Calero, who perished among the Chichimechi in the mountain of Tequila. So with Father Andrea Ayala and Francis Gil, who, living amongst the Guainamotecas, a most ferocious tribe, had already succeeded in converting many of them, patiently teaching them the catechism and baptizing them, when the idolaters, enraged at the success of the mission, conspired to slay them. One Sunday after Mass they fell upon the Fathers, killed them with clubs, cut off their heads, and paraded them in triumph.

Who can narrate in full the terrible sufferings of our Franciscans in Zacatecas and the adjoining territories? In no other part of the New World was their blood shed so freely. Many were killed, many were wounded, others were tortured in a thousand different ways. They were betrayed and persecuted, fulfilling what the Apostles wrote of the first followers of Christ. They were put in irons, beaten, chained, pierced and thrown into dungeons. They were cut to pieces, sawn asunder, quartered, and died by the sword, in deserts, on the mountains, in the ravines and caverns of the earth.

Father Mendieta's Ecclesiastical Indian History, a large volume of 700 pages quarto, is a work without which it would be impossible to write the history of the Indian-

American Church. Mendieta was followed by John Torquemada, the author of three folio volumes of the history of the Indian Monarchy, giving a full account of the tribes which from the beginning populated the country; the succession of their chiefs and kings; the details as to each and all that concerns the religion, laws and customs of the tribes; with a notice also of the people which preceded them. He is named by Beristain the Titus Livius of New Spain. Prescott affirms also that the student "will find few better guides than Torquemada in tracing the stream of historic truth up to the fountain head; such is his manifest integrity, and so great were his facilities for information on most curious points of Mexican antiquity."

Torquemada was preceded by Father Bernardino Sahagun fifty years. The latter was contemporaneous with the conquest, and his great work, "*The Universal History of New Spain*," is considered by Prescott to be the best authority on all that refers to the religion of the Aztecs. M. Jourdanet, who translated it into French, says: "I found it indispensable to refer to the works of Sahagun, being persuaded that there is no other which equals it. The method which he follows in treating his subject, rivets in a special way the attention of the readers who wish to be informed thereon." The same critic writes of Father Torribio Motolinin: "He was a never to be forgotten missionary, who studied the language as well as the customs and natural products of the whole country as well as its topography, of which he left a complete history. Truly it must be said that the details which it contains are most important; not only as regards the results of the missionary work of his fellow workers, but above all as regards the customs and habits of the natives, the products of the country and the different nature and aspects of the field, being profitable and instructive to the new owners of those regions. It is a precious book which should not be ignored by those who are interested in the study of American lore."

Of Father Torribio Motolinin, Prescott says: "The History of the Indians of New Spain written by Bro. Torribio is divided in three parts, viz.: First, the religion, rites and

sacrifices of the Aztecs. Second, their conversion to Christianity, and the way in which they celebrated the Church feasts. Third, habits and characters of the nation, its chronology and astronomy, with an account of the principal cities and the most marketable products of the country. The investigator of Aztec antiquities will find there many curious and important notices, since the author, on account of his intimate connection with the natives, could become acquainted with their theology and science. His style is so easy and natural that it requires no effort to understand him. In brief, his authority is of the first order for the study of the antiquities of the country and for information of the state in which it was found at the time of the Conquest."

The most genuine and authentic information as to the languages of the tribes also comes to us from the Franciscan missionaries; for instance, Father Antonio of Cittareale, amidst all the hardships of the apostolate, compiled a complete dictionary of the Maya language. Father Solano wrote a sermon for every Sunday in the year, and for all the saints' days, in the same language, and composed a portable dictionary for beginners. Father Torralva did the same. Father Coronel published a book of instruction as a summary of Christian doctrine and a short grammar. These publications, as well as those of Landa and Villalpando, were used and are still in use, writes Cogolludo in his "History of Yucatan," by the priests and lay-brothers.

Humboldt drew attention to the importance of the accounts in his compendium of Hanahuac, which were gathered by his brother, Andrew of Olmos, and were transmitted by his fellow-worker Mendieta, who, moreover, gives abridged notices of several other collaborateurs. First, Brother Peter Ximenes prepared a treatise and vocabulary of the Mexican language. He was followed by Brother Torribio Motolinin, who compiled a *Brief Christian Doctrine*. After Motolinin, Father John Ribas wrote in the same language a catechism and a series of Sunday conferences for the whole year, then a *Flos Sanctorum* and a *Christian Life*, in questions and answers, while Brother Luis Cisneros published a course of sermons.

All four belonged to the first twelve who brought the Gospel to this continent.

Brother Peter of Ghent wrote a *Greater Doctrine* in Mexican, which was afterwards published, and a book of sermons, as well as a course of conferences, with edifying examples, suitable for the natives. Brother John St. Francis published a similar book of sermons for the same purpose, treating of the life and virtues of the saints. Brother Alonzo of Herrere, published a grammar and book of sermons for the whole year, by Brother Alonzo Rengel, besides a treatise on the Otomi language and a catechism. Brother Andrew Olmos, who was greatly gifted in languages, compiled dictionaries and other books, not only in the Mexican language, but in the Totanaca, Guaztec, and other languages of the Chichimechi, among whom he preached the gospel for a long time, exercising over them, as we have said, an extraordinary influence.

Brother Arnold of Basaccio, a Frenchman and a profound theologian, left a large number of good sermons in different languages, and translated the Epistles and Gospels which are read regularly in the Church. His works are much esteemed by persons of literary tastes. Brother John of Gaona, who was well versed in the Mexican language, was highly gifted and wrote extensive treatises, unfortunately lost, with the exception of his dialogues, which have been published, and of which the language and style surpass in purity and elegance anything written in that language. He left besides a book, *Passion of the Saviour*. His precious manuscripts have nearly all been destroyed by fire.

What can we say of Brother Bernardino Sahagun? Besides a treatise in the Mexican language and a collection of sermons for the whole year, as well as a commentary on the Gospel, and many other treatises, he wrote a *Calapino*, so called by him, in thirteen folio volumes, in which are to be found all the kinds of speech of which the Mexicans made use in their communications; and a description of religion, education, domestic and social life among them. On account of its extent, no translation of it has been undertaken. One of the Viceroys took it from him to send it to a cer-

tain chronicler who had been asking for accounts of the customs of the Indians. Father Sahagun never published any of his writings, except a collection of airs for the Indians to sing at their festivals, having substituted for their heathenish songs the life of Christ and the saints.

Brother Alonzo Escalona, who was also a ready writer in Mexican, left a large number of sermons which are still used, and several *Commentaries* on the Decalogue. Brother Alonzo of Molina published a *Vocabulary*, a detailed Christian Doctrine, a Compendium, a *Double Confession*, a *Preparation for the Eucharist*, and the *Life of our Patriarch.* He translated the *Gospels for the Whole Year*, the *Hours with the Saviour*, and a large number of prayers and exercises, for the use of the natives. Father Luis Rodriguez translated with purity and elegance the Proverbs of Solomon and the four books of the *Contemptus Mundi;* omitting the last twenty chapters of the third book, which were afterward added by Brother Battista, the guardian of Tezcoco, who also corrected the mistakes of the copyist for publication.

Brother John Romanones wrote a large number of sermons, many treatises, and translated many parts of the Bible. Brother Maturino Gilberti, a Frenchman, compiled and published a folio volume of the Christian doctrine in the Tarrascan language of Michoacan. This book contains all that a Christian needs to know to gain salvation. The first to similarly distinguish himself in the Popolaca of Tecamachalco was Brother Francis of Toral, afterwards bishop of Yucatan, who wrote a *Treatise*, a *Vocabulary*, and other works bearing on Christian doctrine. A *Vocabulary*, a *Doctrine*, and many sermons were compiled in the same language by Brother Andrew of Castro, the first apostle to the Province of Metlazinco, and a *Treatise* and a *Catechism* in the Tarrascan language were prepared by Brother John Battista of Laguna, who was minister of Michoachan.

Finally, in the Otomi language, Father Peter Palacios, who knew it thoroughly, especially distinguished himself. He wrote a *Grammar*, a *Catechism*, or Christian Doctrine, for the use of the natives. These works were corrected and enlarged by Brother Peter Oraz, a distinguished Father of the

province, to whom we owe much gratitude for other works which he left in the Otomi and Mexican languages, of which a voluminous *Book of Sermons* will be published. The Mexican language is the most generally spoken in the provinces of New Spain, but there are many other languages differing in every territory and town; indeed, they are almost numberless, but there are everywhere persons versed in the Mexican, which here serves the purpose of Latin in Europe. And one need not hesitate to avow the opinion that the former language is not less noteworthy than the latter, which it even surpasses in the art of word-formation by means of its own radicals and expressions by metaphors.

To say the truth, the perfection of the Mexican language has been threatened by familiar and popular use, and each day it becomes more corrupt. The Spaniards speak it just as the Negroes and ignorant speak Castillian. The Indians adopt the Spaniards' manner of speech, forgetting that of their forefathers. In a way, Spanish has been partly corrupted with the words which the conquerors learned here, and by the use of the Mexican language. The mingling produces a result which renders most difficult the introduction of the Christian faith to the natives.

The story of the later Franciscan missions in America, which were as fruitful and efficacious as those of the first century, is found in the chronicles of Father Peter Simon, a Spaniard, the notable missionary of New Granada, who minutely and faithfully describes all the territories, giving a history of the advance of Christianity and transformation of the country; in the work of Cordova Salinas, another Franciscan, who, in 1630, wrote very ample and faithful accounts in the "Chronicle" of the Province of San Antonio de los Charcas, published in Madrid, 1664, written by Father Diego of Mendoza, in which the glowing descriptions of the missions to the savages caused a sensation. He took part in them, and described in vivid colors the fertile countries and their inhabitants, who lived without order or laws, in idleness in the midst of their luxuriant vegetation. Note must be made of the *Primaria Seraphica* of Brother Apolinare of the Conception, who went from Lisbon to Brazil when quite

young, and the *Brazilian New Seraphic World*, a classical work of Brother Antonio of Santa Maria Taboatao, of which the Historical and Geographical Institute of Rio Janeiro published the first volume at its own expense, the second being printed for the first time in 1858. Among the latest expeditions in which the Order took part we find the important voyage of discovery made to the island of Amat, or Tahiti, in 1870 and 1874, by Order of Don Manuel, Viceroy of Peru and Chili, accompanied by two Franciscans, Brother Girolamo Clota and Brother Narcissus Gonzalez, who sailed in the ships "Aquila" and "Jupiter," and greatly furthered the enterprise by their work and counsel.

In 1778 Brother Benedict Marin and Juliano Real went to reconnoitre the Islands of Guaitecas and Guaineco, to which two years afterwards Brothers Francis Menandez and Ignacio Bargas made a journey, leaving us a very important diary of their experiences. Brother Menandez in 1791 took part in an expedition to Nahuelhuapi, of which his account is still preserved. In 1790 Brother Narcisso Girbal Barcelo at first alone set out exploring the course of the Marayaon and Ucayali as far as Manda, from whence, with Brother Bonaventura Marquez, he continued his voyage to Cumbata. About 1800 some Franciscans ventured to the mouth of the Sciguire, and the immortal Humboldt going there for scientific exploits found them on the borders of the Orinoco and profited by their observations. In our days Brother Gesualdo Machetti published notes of the geography and natural history of the northern part of Brazil. Brother Emmanuel Castrucci, a missionary and traveller in Peru, left a description of his trip from Callao to the native tribes of Zapari and Givaro. Brother Peter Pellici, missionary and traveller in China and Bolivia, published important accounts of the latter; and Brother Joseph Arnich discovered the Caroline Islands in the Pacific. There is besides an excellent history left us of the Franciscan missions in the Andes.

As in South America, so in North America, the fruitful work of the Franciscans is preserved for reference. It suffices to cite Father Diego Urtiaga, a companion of the

venerable Antonio Margil in the missions of Chol, whose diary of his travels with four of his fellow-workers from Queretaro to Guatemala was published in 1694. Father John Dias, who traversed the Gila and Colorado with Captain John Battista Ansa about 1773 to California and thence to Sonora, wrote a diary of his journey, one of the most important undertaken in these regions. Father John Crespi in 1774 took part in the expedition of the frigate "Santiago" along the Pacific coast towards Northern California, and gave an interesting and explicit account of it; and in the same year, accompanied by Father Peter Font and Francis Garces, he went to the harbor of San Francisco and Monterey, returning in 1779. Of all these travels we possess diaries which are most serviceable in geographical research.

Equally important are the diaries left by Father Garces, who was an accurate observer, not the least important being the account of his excursions in the Province of Mopir, a plan of which he designed and drew on paper. Father Peter Font, who, as we have said, took part in the expedition to the port of San Francisco, and who had been chiefly charged with the duty of preserving an account of the places visited, drew a map of the journey, which with his diary proved to be most interesting. He was the last one, says Humboldt, who visited Casas Grandes. Shortly after this expedition Father Velez Escalante and Francis Atanasio Dominguez started out to explore new districts in the northeast of Mexico, and of the roads they travelled they wrote an ample and descriptive account. They began their journey on the 29th of July, 1776, finishing it on the 3d of January of the following year. At that time Father Augustin Morfi made a geographical map of the district of Zacatecas.

As the Franciscans were associated with the immortal Columbus in the efforts that led to the discovery of America, so have they been equally zealous in continuing discoveries and laboring for the regeneration of the New World after his death. How they have performed this religious and civil apostolate appears to-day in all its resplendent light, from the extensive collection of documents

recovered and collected day by day, some of which are in course of publication in Spain and America, but to make all of them public will require much time, there being such an abundance of precious documents that a large library would not suffice to hold them all. And as the discovery of the New World stamps the name of the intrepid navigator, Columbus, indelibly in the memory of nations, so the names of the sons of the patriarch of Assisi are written indelibly in the names and histories of the oceans, islands, rivers, villages, mountains, cities, towns, and all the yet savage parts of the Western Continent.


IOANNES

JOHN II. OF CASTILE, FATHER OF ISABELLA.

From Joannis Mariana's Historia de Rebus Hispaniae, published at the Hague in 1733.

John was the son of Henry III. of Castile and Catherine of Lancaster, succeeded to the throne in 1406 and died July 21, 1454, after a reign of forty-eight years which was distinguished as the golden age in Castilian literature. He married first Maria of Aragon and afterward Isabella of Portugal, who became the mother of Isabella.

ADDENDA TO THE FRANCISCAN PAPER.

THE history of the work of the Order of St. Francis on the Pacific Coast, particularly in Upper California, properly belongs to the age succeeding the Columbus discoveries and the early religious missions to America; but the recent honors paid by citizens of the United States, not of the Catholic faith, to the founder of the California missions, craves attention in connection with the preceding paper. From a late publication,* we learn that Mrs. Leland Stanford, of San Francisco, has presented to the city of Monterey a monument to Father Junipero Serra as a mark of her respect for a saintly man who, through toil and suffering, carried the saving grace of faith to thousands of benighted Indians. The monument was unveiled on June 3, 1891, in the presence of fully five thousand people. It stands on a commanding height on the military reservation, not far from the old fort which Fremont held at the time the United States flag was unfurled and the Spanish-California town became American. It is scarcely a stone-throw from the old wooden cross which marks the spot where Father Serra landed in 1770. It is picturesquely located, the sight commanding a fine view of Monterey Bay and city and the exquisite country back of it. With a consideration which deserves special mention, a Franciscan Father, the Very Rev. Clementine Deymann, was selected as the orator of the day, and he gave an eloquent account of Father Junipero and his work. The monument represents the landing of the missionary, and is crowned with an imposing statue of the priest clad in the robes of his Order and the stole, one hand clasping his book and the other lifted in the act of benediction.

* *Catholic Home Almanac* for 1892, "In Memory of Three Great Catholics."

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To understand the great esteem in which Father Junipero and his work are held on the Pacific Coast, we may recur to a series of interesting papers by a distinguished American author.* The writer acknowledges her indebtedness to the celebrated historian H. H. Brancroft, of San Francisco, who placed at her disposal all the resources of his invaluable library, and also to the superior of the Franciscan College in Santa Barbara for the loan of important books and manuscripts. The missionary was born in the island of Majorca, and entered the Franciscan Order at the age of sixteen, taking his final vows two years later, in 1730. His baptismal name, Michael Joseph, was laid aside, and he assumed the name of Junipero, after an early companion of St. Francis of Assisi. In 1749 he received permission to join the band of missionaries assembled in Cadiz and destined for Mexico. He landed in Vera Cruz, and for nineteen years labored in Mexico, and in 1767 was sent to Lower California, being put in charge and appointed president of all the California missions. From there expeditions were sent to Upper California, and the first halted at a place they named Espiritu Santo, very near the ridge where now runs the boundary line between the United States and Mexico. This was on May 14th, 1769, and the pilgrims there sang the first Christian hymn heard on California's shores. The mission of San Diego was founded there on July 16th, 1769, and the corner-stone thus laid of the civilization of California.

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Incalculable hardships, well depicted by the author, attended the expedition from San Diego to Monterey and the return, which occupied six months and ten days. Sickness and disappointment so affected the spirits of the Spanish commander of the expedition that he resolved to abandon it, in spite of Father Junipero's entreaties, and fixed the 20th of March

* "H. H.," Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, in *The Century Magazine* for May, June, and August, 1883.

as the day of departure, should no supplies arrive from Mexico by that time. The day was the Feast of St. Joseph, and in the morning Father Junipero, who had been praying night and day for weeks, celebrated High Mass with special supplications for relief. Before noon a sail was seen on the horizon, appearing for a few minutes and then vanishing from sight. It was believed to be an apparition, but four days afterwards the *San Antonio* came in, bringing bountiful stores of all that was needed. The sea and land expeditions to Monterey were then undertaken and success crowned their efforts on June 1st. Before his death, in 1784, he had founded nine missions: San Diego in 1769, Monterey 1770, San Antonio 1771, San Gabriel 1771, San Luis Obispo 1772, San Francisco 1776, San Juan Capistrano 1776, Santa Clara 1777, Buena Ventura 1782. Many interesting incidents are recorded in connection with the establishment of these first missions. At San Gabriel the Indians gathered in great force, and were about to attack the little band of ten soldiers and two friars who had begun to plant their cross; but on the unfurling of a banner with a life-size picture of the Virgin painted on it they flung away their bows and arrows, came running towards the banner with gestures of reverence and delight, and threw their bows and other ornaments on the ground before it as at the feet of a suddenly recognized queen. The San Carlos Mission at Monterey was Father Junipero's particular charge. There he spent all his time when not called away by his duties as president of the missions; there he died and there he was buried. There also his beloved friend and brother Father Crespi labored by his side for thirteen years, a sanguine, joyous man, sometimes called El Beato from his happy temperament.

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Father Crespi died at the age of sixty years, having spent half of them in laboring for the Indian. Father Serro lived only two years longer. For many years he had been a great sufferer from an affection of the heart aggravated by his excessive zeal. When he preached he was carried out

of himself by the fervor of his desire to impress his hearers. Baring his breast he would beat it violently with a stone or burn the flesh with a lighted torch to enhance the effect of his descriptions of the tortures of hell. There is in his memoirs a curious engraving showing him lifted high above a group of listeners, holding in his hands the blazing torch and the stone. Like all the missionaries he presented an indomitable front to the military authorities in protecting the missions and the Indian converts, whose deepest affections and confidence he won by his untiring labors. It was his habit to spend all the time with them not required for the offices of the Church, laboring by their side in the fields, making adobe, digging and sharing, in short, all the labors required of them.

After his death the founding of missions continued until in 1804 the occupation of the sea-coast line from San Francisco to San Diego was complete, there being nineteen mission establishments only a day's journey apart. That of Santa Barbara was founded in 1786, La Purissima 1787, Santa Cruz 1791, Soledad 1791, San Jose 1797, San Juan Bautista 1797, San Miguel 1797, San Fernando Rey, 1797, San Luis Rey 1797, San Luis Rey de Francia 1798, Santa Inez 1804.

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All the missions comprised buildings on a large scale providing for hundreds of occupants, for all the necessary trades and manufactures, and for many of the ornamental arts of civilized life. Enormous tracts of land were under high cultivation, the grape and fruits of the temperate zone flourishing in the marvellous California air side by side with the grape, fig, orange and pomegranate. Vast flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and horses were gathered everywhere, and in the nineteen missions were twenty thousand Indians leading regular and industrious lives, and conforming to the usages of the Catholic religion. A description of the San Luis Rey mission written by De Mofras, an attachee of the French Legation in Mexico, in 1842, gives some idea of the form and methods of the mission establishments. "The

building is a quadrilateral, 450 feet square ; the church occupies one of its wings ; the façade is ornamented with a gallery. The building is two stories in height. The interior is formed by a court ornamented with fountains and decorated with trees. Upon the gallery which runs around it open the dormitories of the monks, of the major-domos and of travellers, small work-shops, school-rooms and storerooms. The hospitals are situated in the most quiet parts of the mission, where also the schools are kept. The young Indian girls dwell in halls called monasteries, and are called nuns. Placed under the care of Indian matrons who are worthy of confidence, they learn to make cloth of wool, cotton and flax, and do not leave the monastery until they are old enough to be married. The Indian children mingle in schools with those of the white colonists. A certain number, chosen among the pupils who display the most intelligence, learn music, chanting, the violin, flute, horn, violoncello or other instruments. Those who distinguish themselves in the carpenter shop, at the forge, or in agricultural labors are appointed alcaldes or overseers, and charged with the direction of the laborers." Surrounding these buildings, or arranged in regular streets upon one side of them, were the homes of the Indian families. At every mission were walled gardens with waving palms and sparkling fountains, groves of olive trees, broad vineyards, and orchards of all manner of fruits.

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The revolutions in Mexico at last destroyed the California missions. In 1834, the edict for their sequestration was issued, making the mission establishments state property, and fastening upon them Administrators under whom the wealth of the missions disappeared, as dew vanishes in the sun. It was under pretence of caring for the Indians that this sequestration was enforced, but the Administrators became merciless task-masters, under whom the poor mission Indians were compelled to work harder than before, and were ill-fed and ill-treated, being hired out in gangs to work in towns or on farms, under masters who simply regarded

them as beasts of burden. A more pitiable sight has not often been seen on earth than the great body of these helpless dependent creatures suddenly deprived of their teachers and protectors, thrown on their own resources, and at the mercy of rapacious and unscrupulous communities in times of revolution. The Administrators soon ran all the missions hopelessly into debt ; they were made subject to the laws of bankruptcy, and the property was put up for sale. When the war between the United States and Mexico broke out, the Mexican government authorized the sale of the missions to raise money to defend the country against the United States, and, under this authorization, the property was sold right and left for insignificant sums, or abandoned without care. Most of the mission churches and establishments are now but heaps of ruins.

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Turning from the melancholy picture of the forcible dispersion of the Franciscans and the consequent destruction of the California missions, we may conclude with the cheering account of an occurrence which gives a gleam of hope for the future. At the time when the world prepared to celebrate in the great city of the west the Discovery of Columbus, the denizens of the still farther west, the Pacific Coast, were celebrating the rededication of one of the greatest of the Californian missions—that of San Luis Rey, the description of which by De Mofras, as he saw it in 1840, has been quoted above. We are indebted to Mr. Henry G. Spaulding for a spirited account of "The San Luis Rey Mission ; its past history and its rededication."*

"The rededication of the old Franciscan Mission of San Luis Rey, which took place on the 12th of the present month, was an event of peculiar interest. Ninety-five years ago, in the presence of a large number of Indians, this establishment, the seventeenth of the twenty-one missions founded in California by the Franciscan Fathers, was formally dedicated to St. Louis, King of France, San Luis

* Correspondence of the New York *Evening Post*, from Oceanside, Cal., May 15, 1893.

Rey de Francia. Within two years it received over 300 Indians into the Church, and hundreds of horses, cattle, and sheep roamed its extensive pastures. In a decade more the number of its dusky neophytes had increased to 3,000; the average annual yield of its grain fields amounted to over 20,000 bushels, while its sales of hides and tallow brought an ever-increasing income. This material wealth was fully matched by the spiritual prosperity of the mission. Under the care of the wise and benevolent Superior, Padre Antonio Peyri, the Indians were not only 'converted,' they were also taught every variety of industry. The admirably constructed buildings of the mission itself still testify to the skill of the Indian masons and carpenters. The period during which these Franciscan friars were colonizing California and Christianizing thousands of its aborigines was in a very real sense a pastoral age. The type of civilization was that of a patriarchal communism, and under no other system practised on this continent was so much accomplished towards lifting a race of savages to the heights of stable character.

"All this and much besides in the way of reminiscence was suggested by the recent ceremony at San Luis Rey, whereby a new order succeeds, while it also in part restores, the old. Once more, as in the later decades of the last century, the Franciscan Fathers have come hither from Mexico; not now, as formerly, to colonize a *terra incognita* and convert unknown heathen tribes, but to carry on, under conditions denied them in the Mexican Republic, the work of training novices for their Order. Incidental to this educational aim is the purpose of the founders of the novitiate to resume some of the home missionary labors which the padres engaged in a century ago.

"The modern visitor to the ancient mission leaves the railroad at Oceanside, a thriving village in San Diego County, eighty-five miles south of Los Angeles. At this season the six miles' drive over the rolling hills is a most delightful journey. The whole country, refreshed by the abundant rains, is clothed in living green, save where the late spring flowers bestrew the meadows or the rich yellow bloom of the wild mustard lying in irregular patches on the

hillsides suggests fields of 'the cloth of gold.' Mocking-birds and meadow larks fill the air with their matin-songs, and the widening view as we ascend takes in more and more of the ocean and of the billowy mountain ranges. At length we come in sight of the old mission church with its single Spanish tower and the long roofless corridors of round Roman arches. Beautifully situated, in 'a basin of sierras,' on a little knoll above the broad valley of the San Luis Rey River, the walls of the mission retain enough of the warm tints once laid upon them to make them thoroughly in harmony with the surrounding land-scape.

"Architecturally considered, a California mission is a unique structure. If we call its style Spanish, we give little clue to its appearance, as most Spanish architecture is an uncertain mixture of Roman and Moorish elements. Besides, in California a century ago these elements were variously modified by the taste of the priestly architects and the peculiar nature of the building materials. The piers of the arches were made of heavy bricks, but the walls were all of adobe. Over their rough surfaces the masons laid a thick coat of stucco, which was painted along the corridors in bright colors and on the façade in a warm buff tint. Of the original appearance of this particular mission we are fortunate in having a graphic pen-picture in the interesting work of the French traveller, De Mofras. Unfortunately the fine engraving which accompanies De Mofras's text gives the structure a greater regularity than could ever have belonged to it. De Mofras visited San Luis Rey in 1840; but Don Antonio F. Coronel, who is now living in Los Angeles, was there before that date and spent much time at this mission. The two bell-towers which De Mofras's artist places on the front of the church belong to an ideal construction. Don Coronel assures me that there was never but the single tower which rose on the east front of the building, an architectural feature which is characteristic of nearly all the other mission churches in California.

"The roof of the church was made of coarse red tiles laid upon a network of *tule* reeds tied to the rafters by bits

of rawhide. The huge cross-beams which the Indians brought from the mountain forests, forty miles away, remain in position, but in many places the roof has fallen in. Within the ruined mortuary chapel—once a handsome dome-crowned structure—lizards have crawled and owls have screeched in undisturbed seclusion. Of the corridors that once surrounded the court of three acres, long lines of the Roman arches still remain on the inner sides, giving a picturesque grandeur to the scene hardly to be found anywhere else outside of Italy. On the front the arches have nearly all disappeared. A small fragment of brick latticework may still be seen where the ancient colonnade joined the façade of the church, a reminder of the balustrade that formerly extended around the entire gallery from which in the days of old the Spaniards

'. . . . and their dames
Viewed the games,'

when the bull-fights were carried on in the spacious quadrangle below. These corridors originally opened to the dormitories of the monks and major-domos, the workshops, storehouses, schoolrooms, and hospitals. Here were also the guest-chambers for travellers, who were always most hospitably entertained by the good padres. A large and accurate model of the entire mission was recently made in Los Angeles by Don Coronel and Señora Coronel, and is now on exhibition at the World's Fair in Chicago.

"The ceremonials at the rededication could hardly be called imposing, but they were highly picturesque, and to all conversant with the history of the Mission they were most impressive. The old church, or rather its long nave (the fine apse and the transepts being unfit for occupation), had been put in order for the occasion. A temporary ceiling of thick board hid the rents in the roof where the heavy red tiles are pressing through. On the newly-swept uneven adobe floor a few rude benches and chairs had been placed for the comfort of the better class of the expected visitors. For the celebrants, a plain altar had been erected at the further end of the nave, the extemporized sanctuary was neatly carpeted, and on the west side near the ancient pulpit was placed

the Bishop's throne overhung with crimson drapery. Vases of flowers, including some of the *rosas de Castillas*, which so rejoiced the heart of Father Palou when he entered California in the eventful days of 1769, were placed among the lighted candles on the altar, and through the open doors and windows streamed the sunlight of the bright May morning.

"Slowly a motley congregation gathered within the walls. American residents of Los Angeles, Oceanside, and San Diego mingled with Eastern tourists eager to witness the unusual ceremony. Members of the old Castilian families of Bandini and Del Valle and other wealthy Spaniards came, bringing their satin prayer-cushions and richly-colored rugs, while the humbler Mexicans from the neighborhood knelt by their side on the coarse blankets which they had brought. A few Indians from the *rancheria* across the river, wearing red kerchiefs and shawls, gave a dash of bright color to the scene; while, standing at one of the side doors, cap in hand, was the inevitable beggar, a veteran 'native' with wooden leg, ragged garments, and wrinkled visage. Nearer the entrance, squat like toads on the cold adobe, were three aged squaws whose childhood had been spent at the Mission in the good times when Father Peyri ruled the place. The witches in Macbeth could not have looked worse than these hideous hags; one of whom, reputed to be a centenarian, faintly remembered the good padre, who, she said, was ever kind to the poor Indians. Moving about among the throng, the pushing photographer brought his camera close to the very sanctuary, while newspaper reporters, with note-books resting on their kodaks, kept up a whispered conversation and took snap-shots at every object which attracted their notice.

"At length Father O'Keefe, from the Santa Barbara Mission, clad in his coarse brown cowl and stole, enters the church and in his capacity as master of ceremonies makes a path through the crowd for the procession of the clergy. Preceded by three novices, Bishop Mora, of Los Angeles, in his purple robe leads the way, followed by Fathers Adam, Meyer, and Dye of the same city. Then come the Franciscan padres from Guadalupe, in Mexico, dressed in the sombre gray gowns and cowls of their Order, Father

Alva, Commissary-General ; Father Tiscareño, his secretary ; the aged Father Alverez (with a countenance as mild and benignant as that of St. Francis himself) ; Father Martinez and Ocegueda, and Father Ambrose Malabeher, the Superior of the new college, a monk whose features and manner bespoke the ardent and self-sacrificing devotee. High Mass was at once begun, many of the congregation kneeling on the blankets and rugs they had brought with them. In the old choir just over the entrance, reached by a flight of broken steps on the outside of the church, an excellent orchestra and quartet from San Diego rendered the music of Farmer's Mass in B flat, and an *Agnus Dei* by Haydn. The sermon was preached in Spanish by the Father Superior, who took for his text a passage from Ezekiel, describing the return of the Jews from their long exile. Father Malabeher dwelt pathetically on the poverty of the Franciscans in Mexico, and on the persecutions they had suffered, and expressed his joy and gratitude that here in California the friars were permitted to teach and labor under such pleasant conditions. This permission, he said, they had received through the gracious favor of his Holiness the Pope, and Bishop Mora, of the diocese of Monterey and Los Angeles. Father Tiscareño then read in Latin the canonical institution of the new mission. The interesting services were concluded by the formal investment of three youthful postulants with the robes of the Order, and the proclamation of the patron saints, San Luis Rey, patron of the Mission, and Nuestra Señora de Guadelupe, patroness of the novitiate. Then, to the strains of Mendelssohn's 'March of the Priests,' from 'Athalie,' the assembly dispersed, and the ancient mission was dedicated to its new uses."


FERDINANDVS CATHOLICVS ET ISABELLA

FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

From Joannis Mariana's Historia de Rebus Hispaniae, published at the Hague in 1733.

They were married October 19, 1469, when she was nineteen and her husband eighteen years of age. She ascended the throne of Castile in 1474 and he that of Aragon in 1479, when they thus became monarchs of united Spain. While their reign was marked by the most splendid victories and successes in every undertaking, the queen was noted for her unfeigned humility, the most striking proof of her constant piety; for her magnanimity and justice and her endowment of hospitals, churches and convents. Ferdinand was wise, prudent and sagacious and indefatigable in business, and so just and equitable to the subjects from whom he derived his revenues that he amassed no treasure, and though practising the strictest frugality, died so poor that his coffers scarcely sufficed to pay his funeral expenses.

COLUMBUS CENTENNIAL LITERATURE.

FOR some account of publications abroad, induced by the general disposition to fittingly celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, we are indebted to Mr. Juan F. Riaño, in the London *Athenæum*.* He mentions the publication at Seville, in Spanish, of the "Life of Columbus," by his son Ferdinand, of which an Italian translation by Alfonso de Ulloa was printed at Venice in 1571. As the original manuscript of the history has wholly disappeared, it is assumed that the new Spanish edition is a translation of the Italian. A barrister of Seville, José Maria Asensio, also published in 1892 *Cristoval Colon, su Vida, sus Viajos, sus Descubrimientos*, in two volumes folio, illustrated with oleographs after Balaca, Madrazo, Muñoz, Degrain, Rosales and other distinguished artists.

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The Spanish committee for organizing the Centennial Celebration of 1892 (*Junta Directiva*) issued an illustrated review, the *Centenario*, dealing with all subjects connected with Columbus and the discovery, and containing the royal orders and official documents relating to the present Centenary. This publication has done most for the cause. Essays upon the vexed question as to which of the Lucayas Columbus named San Salvador, have appeared in different quarters, as well as a number of works upon Columbus and upon Pinzon, the owner and commander of the caraval *La Pinta*, one of the fleet of the discoverer.

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The publication of the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, by Cobo (1645); *Origin de los Indios del Peru, Mexico, Santa Fé y Chile*, by Diego Andrés Rocha; *De las Gentes del*

* July, 1892. July, 1893.

Peru, by Las Casas; *Noticias Authenticas del famoso Rio Marañon*, by the Royal Geographical Society of Spain in their periodical *Boletin;* and the appearance of the second edition, revised, of *Colon y la Rabida*, by Father José Coll, have marked the Centennial year; and the Spanish ardor for information concerning all the national discoveries and settlements has produced a remarkable number of works upon those subjects.

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The Duchess of Berwick and Alba (Countess of Siruela in her own right) has published, in folio, *Autografos de Cristobal Colon y Papeles de America*, containing several original letters of the great navigator and of his sons Diego and Fernando. They were discovered in the archives of her family, which the duchess has thrown open to historical students of all nations. The appearance of a poem, *Cristobal Colon*, by Lamarque de Novoa (Juan), with a preface by José Maria Asensio, y Toledo, is worthy of mention, together with *Colon y los Reyes Catolicos*, by the Marquis de Hoyos; *Colon y Bovadilla y la Ingratitud de España*, by Louis Vidart; *La Patria de Colon segun los documentos de las Ordernes Militares*, by F. R. Vhagon (the official document quoted by him states the birthplace of Columbus to be Savona); *Pinzon en el Descubrimiento de las Indias*, by Césares Fernandez Duro; *Martin Alonso Pinzon, Estudio historico*, by José Maria Asensio; and *Fuentes historicas sobre Colon y America*, by Joaquin Torres Asensio, who intends giving in subsequent volumes a Spanish translation of all the works in which Columbus and his voyages are first mentioned. He begins with that of Peter Martyr of Anghiera (a town on the south bank of Lake Maggiore), published in 1510; but all passages of this writer referring to Columbus have been reproduced in almost every European language. The treatises of Palacios Rubios, however, are yet unpublished, and the Latin letters of Lucius Marinæus Siculus have never been translated.

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The Congress of Americanists assembled at Huelva and La Rabida in October, 1492, produced essays contributing powerfully to the eulogies of Columbus, but their papers were not limited to his discovery and covered a wide range. A few of the more remarkable were: an ethnographical and archæological account of one of the provinces of New Granada; the *Tribute Rolls of Montezuma* (part 1) and *Further Notes on the Fuegian Language*, both by Dr. D. G. Brinton of the United States; *Páginas históricas de la República Oriental del Uruguay*, by Matías Alonso Criado; *Diccionario biografico nacional ó Historia de la Literatura Chilena*, by Pedro Pablo Figueroa; and several more. The Indian languages were not forgotten at the congress. *Nahuatlismos de Costa Rica*, by Juan Fernandez Ferraz, is a dictionary of the Mexican words introduced into the vernacular language of Costa Rica. The *Lenguas indígenas de America*, or bibliographical dictionary of works relating to the various languages or dialects spoken in North and South America, gained for its author, Count de la Viñaza, the annual prize of the National Library of Madrid. D. Francisco Fernandez y Gonzalez, well known by his translations from the Arabic and Hebrew and noted for an interesting lecture on the languages of Northern and Central America, has published his researches on *Los Lenguages indígenos del Norte y Centro de America* in a small folio volume of 112 closely printed pages.

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Mention is made by Mr. Riaño of the important discovery, by accident, of three large quarto volumes of manuscript entirely in the writing of Las Casas, the venerated missionary and Bishop of Chiapa, who deposited them in the library of San Gregorio in Valladolid, where he passed his declining years. There they remained until the suppression of the monasteries in 1836, when the books of the convent were dispersed and these volumes fell into the hands of a private collector. They contain the well-known *Historia apologetica de las Indias*, of which at least three other

copies are known to exist, and which were published some years ago in the *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España.*

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To a critical review in the *Athenæum* we are indebted for a discussion of three important English publications, a monograph on "The Discovery of North America" by Mr. Henry Harrisse; a volume of "The World's Great Explorers," by Clements R. Markham, devoted to Christopher Columbus; and "The Career of Columbus," by Charles J. Elton; as well as of the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society devoted to the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci. The fact is recalled that an alleged letter of Vespucci printed in Dutch at Antwerp in 1508 (12 leaves) by Jan Van Doesborch has been brought to light. It is addressed to "Mijn vrient Lauerenti Ick Albericus"—supposed to be Lorenzo di Pier Francisco de Medici—and a fac-simile with English translation is announced. It is interesting to note here the editor's statement that Vespucci is now generally acquitted of any thought of giving his own name to the new continent revealed by the discoveries of Columbus; but that the fault is due to those who drew the first charts of the New World. A letter from M. J. E. Hamy, keeper of the Ethnographical Museum of Paris, to the eighth Congress of Americans at Huelva and published in the 21st volume of the *Boletin* of the Royal Academy of History, contains proof of the fact.

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Note is made by Mr. Markham in his history of the difference between the filial regard which animated the son of Columbus in preserving all that could elevate his father's fame, and the manner in which the son of John Cabot, in the history of his discoveries, ignored the position and services of his father; and that all the confusion which, according to Dr. Charles Deane in his "Narrative and Critical History of America," exists concerning the respective achievements of the Cabots is to be ascribed to the failure of biographers to observe that the honors usually awarded to Sebastian belong to his father. The editor of the *Athenæum*, however, very properly observes that the fault may lie, not with Sebastian, but the biographers.

THE PORTRAITS OF COLUMBUS.

IT is said that there is no authentic portrait of Columbus, and the opinion of the best judges upon the conflicting claims made for the many reputed pictures of the great explorer will be found in the remarks accompanying the plates in this volume. The reader perhaps may not find uninteresting the contemporary descriptions of the Admiral referred to by the latest writer on the subject of Columbus portraits.* His son, Fernando, says: "The Admiral was a well made man, of a height above the medium, with a long face, and cheek-bones somewhat prominent; neither too fat nor too lean. He had an aquiline nose, light-colored eyes, and a ruddy complexion. In his youth he had been fair, and his hair was of a light color, but after he was thirty years old it turned white."

The author of the "History of the Indies," Gonzales Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes, who was fifteen years old, and serving as page to Queen Isabella when Columbus returned from his first voyage, writes of the navigator: "He had a noble bearing, good looks, and a height above the medium, which was well carried. He had sharp eyes, and the other parts of his visage were well proportioned. His hair was a bright red, his complexion flushed and marked with freckles. His language was easy, prudent, showing a great genius, and he was gracious in manner."

The author of *Historia de los Reyes Catholicos*, Andrea Bernaldez, with whom Columbus made his home for months at a time, wrote: "Columbus was a man of fine stature, strong of limb, with an elongated visage, fresh and ruddy, of complexion marked with freckles. He had a noble bearing, was dignified of speech, and bore a kindly manner."

* Mr. William E. Curtis, United States Commissioner in charge of the Latin-American Department of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago. See his papers in *The Cosmopolitan* magazine, January and February, 1892.

Las Casas, "the apostle to the Indies," an intimate friend of Columbus, states that the Admiral had red hair and freckles, keen, gray eyes, an aquiline nose, a large mouth, and a sad expression of countenance, which was the result of much mental suffering. That he was unusually reticent, but spoke with great fervor and fluency when so inclined.

A rude vignette drawing, on the first chart made of the West Indies, representing St. Christopher bearing the Christ-child across a stream as in the legend, is supposed to symbolize Columbus carrying Christianity to the New World. It was drawn by La Cosa, the pilot of Columbus, in 1500, and possibly the artist intended to give the saint the features of Columbus. So far as known, this is the first portrait of the Admiral, and represents a bearded man not at all resembling any existing painting claimed to be a portrait of Columbus.

The *Paolo Giovio* and the *Capriolo* engravings (reproduced in this volume), and acknowledged by American and Spanish authorities to be the most reliable pictures of the great man, can be traced in many supposed originals. Among them is the *Yanez* portrait, copied for Governor Fairchild, U. S. Minister at Madrid in 1882, and presented to the Wisconsin State Historical Society, and the Medici or *Altissimo* portrait, copied for President Jefferson when American Minister in Paris, and recently found in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Both are probably copies of the Giovio portrait. A copy of the Giovio portrait—if not the original itself—is in the possession of Dr. Alexander de Orchi, of Como, and of this picture the New York State Librarian, Dr. George R. Howell, says: "At all events, this portrait fills out our expectations of an ideal Columbus, and expresses a man who could do all that Columbus did in divining the existence of a new world, and persuading others to his convictions, and in surmounting all the obstacles he encountered, moral and physical, from Genoa to Cuba. It is a portrait that grows on one. The upper half of the face bears a remarkable resemblance to our own Washington. It shows the repose of strength and reserve power, and, take it all in all, is by far the best ideal

presentation of the face we expect to see in a genuine portrait of Columbus." The history of the Giovio portrait is given in the letter-press accompanying it.

The Italian copper-plate called the Capriolo portrait is thought to be from the Giovio portrait, and ranks, as has been said, with the latter engraving in the estimation of good judges. The Hon. Charles P. Daly, President of the American Geographical Society, has examined the claims with respect to the alleged portraits of Columbus, and speaking of the committee appointed by the Madrid Geographical Society at the request of the Spanish Government to ascertain if there were any reliable portrait of Columbus in Spain, and what was known upon the subject, he states* that the result of their labors was "the general endorsement on the sheriff's writ, 'nothing found';" and that little of value has been added since in the way of historical inquiry or commentary; that the committee brought the Paul Jovius woodcut to light, or rather the Paul Jovius inquiry, and were of the opinion that the Italian steel-engraving in the *Ritratti Cento Capitani Illustri* (Capriolo portrait) is the most satisfactory of all, in which opinion he concurs.

An alleged portrait of Columbus hangs in the New York Senate chamber at Albany. It was presented to the State in 1784 by Mrs. Maria Farmer, a granddaughter of Jacob Leisler, Governor of New York in 1689. Professor James T. Butler, author of an exhaustive paper on the portraits of Columbus, states that this picture is not now generally deemed authentic. The same criticism applies to the portrait by *Parmigiano* (reproduced in this volume), of which a copy was presented by Judge Barton to the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Mass. The Spanish painter and art critic, Carderera, in giving the ground of his doubt that this was intended as a portrait of Columbus, notes "the contrast between the garb and austere aspect of our hero, and the exquisite and effeminate decorations of a personage whose physiognomy, very long and lean, differs most widely from the oval and strongly marked face of the Admiral—an aspect noble, clear, and lit up

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*1884.

by genius. Neither the hair which adorns the temples of the Neapolitan figure with symmetrical and elegant locks, nor the whiskers and long beard, nor the curls smoothly arranged, were seen, save in rarest exceptions, in the age of Ferdinand and Isabella, either in Spain or in Italy, or in other civilized regions of Europe; much less up to the first years of Charles V. could any one meet with a slashed German red cap with plume and gold studs. The same may be said concerning other parts of the attire—as the silk sleeves hooked by fillets, lace about the hands, gloves, a finger ring and other refinements which characterize a finished gallant of the sixteenth century."

A copy of the *Muñoz* portrait (reproduced in this volume) was presented to the Pennsylvania Academy of Arts by R. W. Mead in 1818. The original is in the possession of the Duke of Veragua. Professor Butler quotes an eminent Spanish artist as saying: "Its date cannot be earlier than the end of the seventeenth century; it has whiskers and ruffles which were unknown for more than one generation after Columbus." The same author points out the differences in the physiognomy of the *De Bry* portrait (frontispiece) and the descriptions of the Admiral, and states that the pretensions of this portrait to be a life likeness have been exploded by Navarrete. But Feuillet de Conches, the famous French savant, observes that it is entirely probable that Columbus sat to a Flemish painter, one of the numerous students of the school of Van Eyck who were widely scattered over Spain and Portugal. It has been engraved thirteen times between 1595 and 1862.

The portrait by Thevet engraved in 1585 (reproduced in this volume) differs from the Giovio, which preceded it but ten years, and from the Capriolo and De Bry, which followed it ten years later, in so many essential particulars as to raise many doubts as to its authenticity. It is characterized by a writer in the *Athenæum* (July, 1892) as the missing link in the chain of Columbus portraits. Mr. Curtis thinks it more like an astrologer of the Middle Ages than a seaman. Thevet does not give the source from which it was obtained. It was adopted by Bullart for his collection pub-

lished at Brussels in 1682. The reader has the opportunity of comparing the two portraits esteemed most likely to be portraits of the discoverer and to have had a common origin, viz., the Giovio (1575) and the Capriolo (1596), with the De Bry (1595), alleged by that author to have been painted from life; the Thevet (1584), the source of which has not been traced, and which differs greatly from them all; and finally with the Parmigiano and the Muñoz, which represent persons who did not resemble each other, nor the originals of the early engraved pictures.

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